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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

SEPTEMBER, 1946

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THE MISSIONARY MARCH OF THE AMERICAN
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1789-1835

By E. Clowes Chorley

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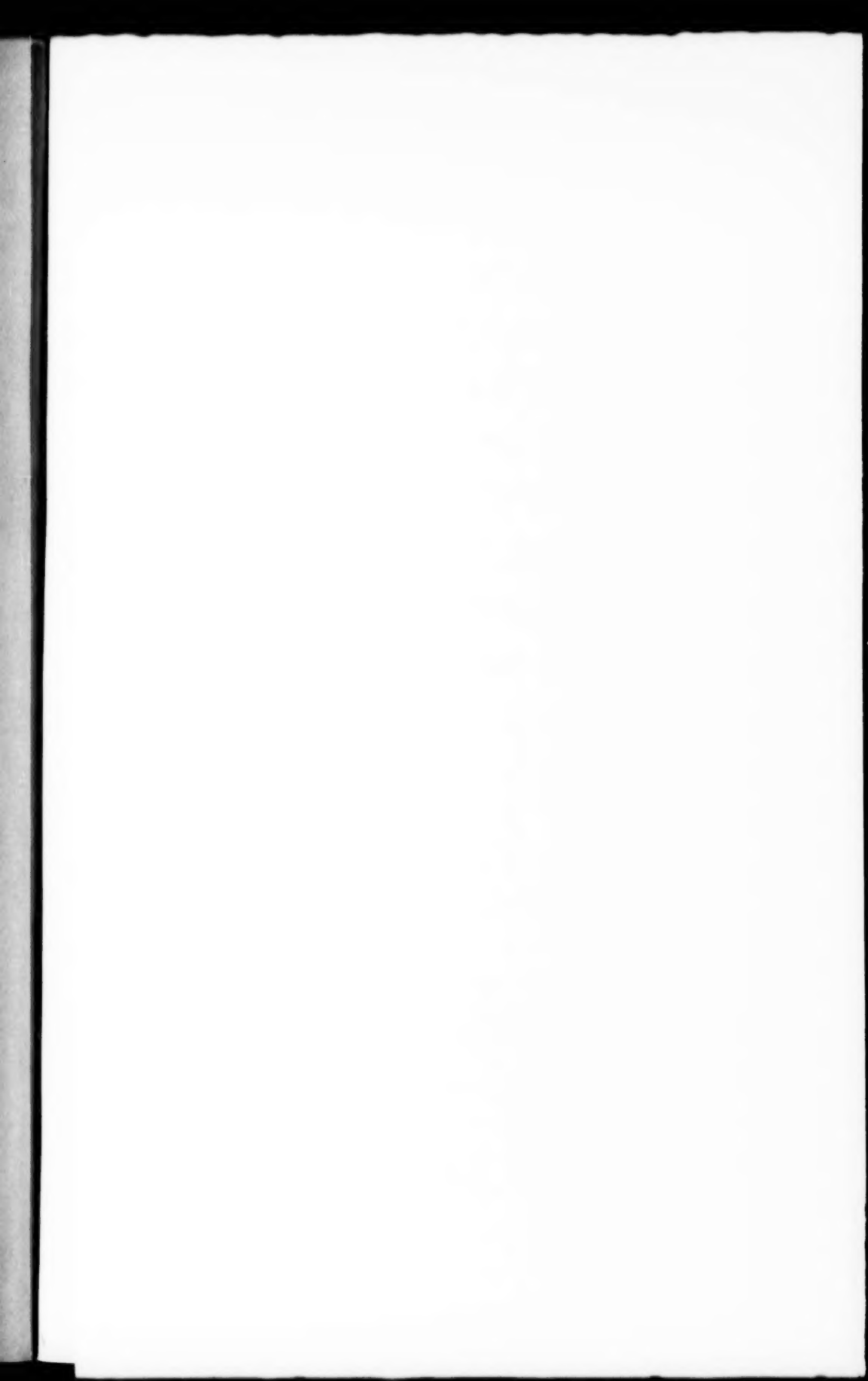
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THE MISSIONARY MARCH OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1789-1835*

By E. Clowes Chorley

I. A CHURCH "APPROACHING ANNIHILATION"

"The congregations of our communion throughout the United States were approaching annihilation. Although within this city [Philadelphia] three Episcopal clergymen were resident and officiating, the churches over the rest of the State had been deprived of their clergy during the war, either by death or by departure for England. In the Eastern States, with two or three exceptions, there was a cessation of the exercises of the pulpit, owing to the necessary disuse of the prayers for the former civil rulers. In Maryland and Virginia, where the Church had enjoyed civil establishments, on the ceasing of these, the incumbents of the parishes, almost without exception, ceased to officiate†. Farther South the condition of the Church was not better, to say the least. . . ."—From Bishop William White's *Charge to the Clergy*, 1832.

*The basis of this work is a series of articles by the writer under the general title, "History of Missionary Work in the Church," published in *The Churchman*, July 2-August 13, 1921. They have been revised in the light of further research during the past twenty-five years.—*Author's note*.

†This statement of Bishop White concerning Virginia and Maryland, while generally current a hundred years ago has now been shown to be erroneous through the discovery of records not then available. These records show that more than fifty clergymen continued at work in the Church in Virginia through the Revolutionary period, keeping up the work as far as possible, and using the new "Prayer for the Magistrates of the Commonwealth" ordered by the State legislature for the established Church. The prostration of the Church in Virginia was fully as great as stated by Bishop White, but it came later, and for another reason.—*Editor's note*.

THIS description of the state of the Episcopal Church in the United States immediately following the Revolutionary War, given by the Presiding Bishop forty-five years after his own consecration to the episcopate, is a graphic explanation of the Church's slowness in assuming its missionary obligations. But there were still other conditions which need explanation if we are to understand the slow tempo of the beginnings of its missionary march.

Historians are generally agreed, not only that "the closing years of the eighteenth century show the lowest low-water mark of the lowest ebb-tide of spiritual life in the history of the American church,"¹ but also that "no one of the Christian organizations of America came out of the war in a more forlorn condition than the Episcopalians."²

There was no diocesan organization, no national organization, no bishop for continuing the ministry, and no union among the scattered Episcopal churches. In all of the colonies outside of Virginia and Maryland, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, commonly called the S. P. G., had largely established the Episcopal congregations, and partly supported most of the clergy for three-quarters of a century. In 1784, on the ground that the Society's charter prevented the support of the Church in any area not under the king's sovereignty, this support was totally withdrawn. Large numbers of the flower of the laity, as well as many of the clergy, moved to Canada, England, or elsewhere in the British empire. In the period of its greatest weakness, the Church in America was thrown entirely upon its own resources. In the midst of dire poverty, it had to learn the painful lesson of self-support.

The wonder is, not that it failed immediately to thrive, but that it survived at all. The wonder is that so many clergy and laymen of faith and courage were left to face the first imperative task: To save the Church from annihilation. This task was fourfold: to organize dioceses, to form a national constitution, to adapt the Prayer Book to changed political conditions, and to secure the episcopate.

In a period of five years, 1784-1789, all this was accomplished. The Connecticut clergy sent Samuel Seabury to England to secure consecration; in 1784 he was made a bishop in the Church of God, not in England, but by the bishops of the proscribed Scottish Episcopal Church in Aberdeen. Three years later, William White and Samuel Provoost were consecrated by the English bishops. In 1790, the consecration of James Madison of Virginia in London completed the American college in the English line. Between 1784 and 1786 several dioceses were organized. In the General Conventions of 1785, 1786

¹L. W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity* (New York, 1897), p. 230.

²*Ibid.*, p. 210.

and 1789, after acute differences of opinion which at one time threatened to disrupt the infant Church, the other items in the fourfold task were realized, and the unity of the Church was assured.³

SOME BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

Constitutionally and canonically the Church was equipped for its missionary work, but not otherwise. The years 1789-1811 have been described as the "period of suspended animation."⁴ Like all epigrams, this one is subject to serious qualification, and in some areas is definitely not true. It implies that the Church itself was responsible for prevailing conditions, over many of which, in fact, it had little or no control. The bishops who led the Church in the great awakening, which set in about 1811,—Hobart, Griswold, Dehon, R. C. Moore, Kemp, Croes, Bowen, and Chase,—were able and successful parish priests in this period of so-called "suspended animation." The animation may have been feeble, but it was not suspended. Some basic conditions must be considered to understand why the Church's feet were so leaden.

The population of the United States increased very rapidly between 1790 and 1830, doubling every 22 or 23 years—"a rate of increase almost unprecedented in the history of civilized man." From just under four millions in 1790, it rose to almost thirteen millions in 1830. But it remained overwhelmingly rural for fifty years. In 1790, it was 95 per cent rural, only 5 per cent urban;⁵ in 1800, it was 94 per cent rural, only 6 per cent urban. Not until 1840 was as much as 10 per cent of the total population urban. A century later, 1940, it was 43.5 per cent rural, and 56.5 per cent urban.

In 1790 only five cities in the entire United States had 8,000 or more inhabitants in each: New York, 33,131; Philadelphia, 28,522; Boston, 18,320; Charleston, South Carolina, 16,359, and Baltimore, 13,503.

In 1800 this number was still the same, although Baltimore had increased 96 per cent; New York, 82 per cent; Philadelphia, 44 per cent, and Boston, 36 per cent.

By 1810 seven cities had been added to the list, making twelve in all: New Orleans, as a result of the Louisiana Purchase, with 17,242 inhabitants; Albany, New York, 10,762; Providence, Rhode Island,

³For further information on this critical period, see E. C. Chorley, "The General Conventions of 1785, 1786, and 1789," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. IV (Dec., 1935), pp. 246-266; also, E. L. Pennington, W. H. Stowe, W. W. Manross, and P. V. Norwood, "The Development of the Church's Constitution," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. VIII (Sept., 1939), pp. 177-303.

⁴C. C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.* (New York, 1895), p. 385.

⁵Urban population means those living in communities with 2,500 or more inhabitants, according to the definition applied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

10,071; Richmond, Virginia, 9,735; Norfolk, Virginia, 9,193; Brooklyn, New York, 8,303; and Washington, D. C., 8,208.

Here then we have one of the secrets of the Church's missionary feebleness before 1810, and of its increasing aggressiveness after that date. Only in the larger urban centers were there congregations with sufficient members and wealth to contribute the financial support necessary to missionary expansion.

Still another obstacle was the increasing illiteracy during the critical fourteen years, 1775-1789. The Revolutionary War was as disastrous to the schools and colleges as it was to the churches. Most of them were closed. Opportunities for schooling before 1775 were meagre enough; by 1790, except in a few cities in the New England area, they had shrunk almost to the vanishing point. The inevitable result was increasing illiteracy among the people. A church which laid stress upon the people's participation in public worship was under a serious handicap. People who cannot read do not like to expose their ignorance in public. Educational institutions were a long time recovering even their pre-war strength. The public school system of today was scarcely dreamed of before 1825, and did not become fairly general until 1850.

Moreover, the Episcopal Church stood for a learned ministry. But it did not have a single theological seminary until after 1817; it did not have a single college under its control until after 1820. The recruiting of its ministry was thus doubly difficult: it had no educational opportunities to offer candidates for the ministry; it could promise but a precarious living to those who finally met its educational requirements. Many of the clergy had to eke out a living by conducting schools or by tutoring.

The prevailing poverty, in both educational and ecclesiastical circles, is strikingly illustrated in the case of Queen's College (now Rutgers University) and of Christ Church, both in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The college, under the control of the Dutch Reformed Church, had had to close during the war. By 1800 it had not been able to open, and the trustees were having difficulty keeping open the preparatory school. Likewise, Christ Church was too poor to have a settled rector. The trustees of the college and the vestry of the parish joined forces and issued a joint call to the Rev. John Croes, rector of the Episcopal Church in Swedesborough, New Jersey, to be headmaster of the preparatory school and rector of the parish. In 1801 he accepted; in both positions he was highly successful. Under him the school "was strong, efficient, well attended," and "gained a national reputation." When in 1808 he gave up the school because of the strain on his health and increasing church responsibilities, it had seventy pupils.⁶ The school's

⁶W. H. S. Demarest, *A History of Rutgers College, 1766-1924* (New Brunswick, 1924), pp. 189-196.

success led to the re-opening of the college. In 1815 Dr. Croes became the first bishop of New Jersey, but the diocese was so poor that he had to retain his rectorship of Christ Church as the major source of his livelihood until his death in 1832.

The Church was profoundly affected by the spirit of the times. Politically, it was a time of transition marked by bitter strife. Men did not discriminate between liberty and license. Federalists and anti-Federalists were at dagger's points. The absorbingly keen interest in politics thrust religion into the background; it was a side issue. The polished skepticism of Thomas Jefferson and the blatant infidelity of Thomas Paine had far-reaching influence. Reason ran riot. The Church was discredited. Her close connection with the Church of England had neither been forgotten nor forgiven by American patriots. Men doubted her loyalty to the basic principles of the Revolution, and they profoundly distrusted the episcopate as undemocratic.

Against these hostile forces was a Church few in numbers, fearful of aggression, and still on the defensive. Naturally, it made little headway. In some places it did not hold its own. Virginia, once the pride and glory of the establishment, was not content to disestablish the Church; the glebes, lands given for the support of the Church's ministers, were confiscated by the state. Many of its parishes were so impoverished as to be ineffective. The bishop, bound by his duties as president of the College of William and Mary, rarely exercised his episcopal functions. In Maryland and Delaware more than half the parishes were vacant, and the remainder were engaged in a life and death struggle for existence.

North Carolina held no diocesan convention until 1793, and that was fruitless. It was not effectively organized until 1817. Conditions were described "as deplorable from the paucity of clergymen, and the multiplicity of sectarians." South Carolina permitted eleven years to elapse between the death of her first bishop in 1801 and the consecration of the second in 1812. Georgia did not become a diocese until 1823, and had no bishop until 1841.

In Pennsylvania the Church hardly existed outside Philadelphia. Although New Jersey had organized as a diocese in 1785, it did not have a bishop for thirty years thereafter. There were but two clergymen in Rhode Island, and not many more in Massachusetts. The latter had no deputies in the General Conventions of 1792 and 1795.

Connecticut and New York were the only bright spots, relatively speaking, "amid the encircling gloom." In the former a loyal band of clergy and laity rallied around Bishop Seabury. The training of the clergy was a pressing problem. The Congregationalist "standing order" was still powerful enough to prevent the granting of a college charter to

the Episcopalians. But churchmen finally succeeded in establishing the Episcopal Academy in 1794 at Cheshire, and this institution trained several able clergymen for Connecticut and for the missionary frontiers in upstate New York and Ohio. Connecticut, for several years after 1789, was the strongest diocese in the Church.

In New York the recovery of the Church got under way earlier than in other dioceses by a very fortunate circumstance. Provoost was far from being an ideal bishop, but it is largely to his credit that the legislature failed in its attempt to confiscate the property of Trinity Church, New York City. Its large revenues were generously used for the expansion of the Church both in the city and upstate. As early as 1796 the diocesan convention organized a committee for propagating the Gospel in the state of New York, and almost immediately sent out itinerant missionaries. In 1802 the Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning was founded with the twofold object of supporting missions and contributing to the work of theological education. This was followed by the organization of other societies for promoting various phases of the Church's work. Very early laymen of conviction were moving from Connecticut into upstate New York and organizing parishes. In several instances the priest never appeared until he was sent for. By the opening of the nineteenth century New York was leading the whole Church in its recovery from the havoc of war.

II. THE MISSIONARY IDEA

IN spite of this arrested development, the Church faced the task of missionary work and organization. The General Convention of 1792, attended by four bishops—Seabury, White, Provoost, and Madison—met in New York, and during its sessions Thomas J. Claggett was consecrated bishop of Maryland, this being the first consecration of a bishop on American soil. On the seventh day of the session a joint committee was appointed to prepare "a plan of supporting missionaries to preach the Gospel on the frontiers of the United States." The report, subsequently adopted, provided for a standing committee of the convention, charged with the oversight and direction of missionary work, and of that committee Bishop White was the head. Provision was made for the appointment of a secretary and a treasurer, and an annual collection was directed to be made in all parishes on the second Sunday in December, at which time the clergy were required to preach a missionary sermon. When sufficient funds were gathered, the standing committee was authorized to employ missionaries and to report their proceedings to the General Convention.

This committee was ordered to prepare an address to the members of the Church, which address was to be read by the ministers of the

Church on the day appointed for the collection. It is one of the best statements of missionary motive and policy to be found anywhere, and shows that the leaders of the Church were clearly aware of its missionary obligations.

After reviewing the labors of previous conventions which resulted in the union of the Church, the securing of the episcopate, and the revision of the Prayer Book, the address points out that the objective of "so good a system" is an "evangelical profession of Religion" and "holiness of heart and life; an effect which may be looked for, wherever provision has been made for the stated preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments." But there were many persons "on the extensive frontier of the United States who, having been educated in the faith and worship of our Church, wish to have the benefits of its ministry"; but they cannot unless helped by their richer brethren who do have them.

It recognizes the "duty, incumbent on every branch of the Christian Church, not to neglect, as far as opportunity shall offer the publishing of the glad tidings of salvation, even to heathen nations." Every member of "our Communion" must desire that "something be attempted by us, in due time . . . for the conversion of our Indian neighbours, notwithstanding former disappointments and discouragements."

"But if this be a duty, how much more so is the extending of aid to those who are of one Faith and one Baptism with ourselves; but who, from unavoidable causes, are without those means of public worship which the Divine Author of our religion has accommodated to the wants and weaknesses of human nature; and which He saw to be, on those accounts, necessary for upholding the profession of His name."

The address contains a salutary warning:

"The promise of Christ to be with His Church to the end of the world, will never fail; and yet particular branches of the Universal Church may either flourish or decline, in proportion to their continuing in a pure profession and suitable practice on the one hand, and their falling into error, or indifference and unholy living, on the other. However prosperous, therefore, the beginning of our Church in this new world, she will have little reason to look for a continuance of the Divine Blessing, if, when she contemplates so many members of her communion 'scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd,' she does not use her diligence to bring them within Christ's Fold, and to secure to them a stated administration of the ordinances of His religion."

The address ends with a reminder of what the Church of England had done for the Church in the colonies. "The example is what we ought, in reason, to imitate;" and in helping to make good Christians, they will be helping to make good citizens.

For some unknown reason the General Convention of 1795 remitted the whole responsibility for missionary work to the several diocesan conventions, and the matter was not again considered until 1808.

THE GREAT MIGRATION

Yet the fields were white unto harvest and the need for corporate action was imperative. The settlement of the West, which began before the end of the War of Independence, was one of the greatest migrations of history. By 1790, 200,000 people were living west of the eastern mountains.

From 1790 to 1808, because of hard times in the South, the heaviest emigration was from Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, into Kentucky and Tennessee. The former was admitted into the Union as a state in 1792; the latter, in 1796.

In the North, western New York and Ohio were frontiers for the surplus populations of New England. Slower to get under way than in the South because of better times, this northern migration reached flood proportions with the passage of the Embargo act of 1808, and continued with little interruption until 1820. Pennsylvania and New York were the only two of the original thirteen states which profited immediately from this great movement. New York's population quadrupled between 1790 and 1820. Pennsylvania did not maintain this rate, but its population doubled between 1790 and 1810. Ohio became a state in 1802; by 1810 it had 230,000 inhabitants; by 1820, 580,000.

Ironically, the Episcopal Church made its greatest gains among the predominantly Puritan stock, traditionally hostile to the Church, which poured into western New York and Ohio from New England. Its greatest losses were among the Church of England stock which moved out of the tidewater states of the South into Kentucky and Tennessee. One who lived among them said:

"They still retain the Prayer Book as a venerable relic of antiquity; they still have a reverence for Baptism and the Lord's Day. The Church, they say, was pure and good, but now it has fallen, and they fear will never be revived again."

The reason for this paradox is that New York of all the dioceses was in some measure organized, and had the financial resources, to pursue a relatively vigorous missionary program. Connecticut churchmen,

pushing on into Ohio, were soon followed by several clergymen ordained in the former diocese.

In the South, on the other hand, as we have seen, the Church was prostrated for two decades and more: until after 1810 in South Carolina and Virginia; until after 1817 in North Carolina. Recovery in the South came too late to meet the challenge of the great migration. In the frontiers along the Ohio River the Church did not penetrate until 1790, and then only casually.

The first church west of the Alleghanies was begun in 1790. Pittsburgh had no church services before 1793, and four years later established its first parish. In 1793 the Rev. Joseph Doddridge, formerly a Methodist minister under Francis Asbury, preached in West Virginia, and shortly afterwards crossed the Ohio River and held the first Church services in the log courthouse at Steubenville, Ohio. And so the story runs—doors wide open; the Church in her corporate capacity doing nothing, but here and there an individual clergyman embarking on an adventure for God and penetrating into the waste places of Zion, finding his support in teaching school.

THE IMPOTENCE OF GENERAL CONVENTION

The General Convention which met in Baltimore in 1808 was remarkable for the slim attendance of both lay and clerical delegates and of bishops. In the House of Deputies only seven states were represented and of the members of the House of Bishops only White and Claggett were present, and they held their sessions in the rectory of St. Paul's Church. The situation was so serious that a solemn and affectionate address was issued urging the churches to send delegates and a respectful appeal was made "to every bishop of this Church" on the subject of his attendance. This was the first pastoral address.

Depleted as it was, the convention addressed itself seriously to the problem of the frontier. Dioceses organized, but not in union with the convention, were invited to accede to the constitution of the Church. States and territories where no organization had been effected, were urged to proceed without delay. The convention was keenly alive to the necessity of providing bishops for the new settlements, but quite uncertain as to how to proceed. The Church was still thinking in terms of the state as a unit and was disposed to wait until the state conventions, as they were then called, could organize and elect their own bishops. A joint committee, however, was appointed to "determine on the proper mode of sending a bishop into said states and territories; and, in case of a reasonable prospect of accomplishing this object, to elect a person to such episcopacy with the approval of the Standing Com-

mittees of the Church." This was a step forward; the first move towards the election of missionary bishops which was finally accomplished in 1835.

The aforesaid resolution was communicated to the Church at large in a pastoral letter written by Bishop White. Its style was ponderous, but on the question of missions quite definite:

"During the present session our minds have been much impressed by a sense of what is due from us to our western brethren, and especially to those of them professing themselves of our own Communion. We wish to extend to them the episcopacy and the celebration of the worship of this Church; and we invite all our brethren now addressed to aid us in the accomplishment of these objects. And, until it shall be found practicable to avail ourselves of any opportunities occurring to encourage the settlement of suitable ministers of this Church, who may be disposed to remove from the older states, into that vast field of labor.

"And we further invite ministers and other members of our Communion who may be already in those districts, to aid us in carrying our purposes into effect; and in the meantime, if it be practicable, to make such internal organizations as may conduce to it."

Unfortunately, nothing came of this plan. The committee found it impossible to find a suitable person for a missionary bishop, and had they succeeded they had no funds.

In 1810 a few clergymen in western Virginia (now West Virginia) and the western part of Pennsylvania met in conference and directed the Rev. Joseph Doddridge to correspond with Bishop White, with a view to obtaining permission to organize a convention, regardless of state boundaries, in order that they might secure the episcopate. In consequence of this communication, the matter of missionary bishops came before the General Convention of 1811 with added urgency. After much consideration, Bishops White and Madison, in whose dioceses the frontiers were situated, were directed to mature plans for the organization of the Church in the western states. The death of Madison, one year later, put a summary end to the project. Communications were difficult in those days and no official answer was sent to Mr. Doddridge. Eighteen months later he heard by accident of the fate of his petition. The effect on the struggling Church in the west was most disastrous. The vestries were not re-elected, the young people joined other societies. Doddridge wrote Bishop White: "How often have these people said to me in the bitterness of their hearts: 'Must we live and die without baptism for our children, and without the Sacrament for ourselves?' . . . I kept my station, cheerless as it was, without hope of doing anything beyond keeping together a few of my parishioners during my own

lifetime, after which, as I supposed, they and their descendants must attach themselves to such societies as they might think best." And he adds:

"How often, during these years of hopeless despondency and discouragement have I said to myself: 'Is there not a single clergyman of my profession, of a zealous and faithful spirit, who would accept the holy and honorable office of a *chorea episcopus* for my country, and find his reward in the exalted pleasures of an approving conscience in gathering in the lost sheep of our Israel and planting churches in this new world? Is there not one of our bishops possessed of zeal and hardihood enough to induce him to cross the Alleghany Mountains and engage in this laudable work?' How often have I reflected, with feelings of the deepest regret and sorrow, that if anything like an equal number of professors of any other Christian community had been located in Siberia, or India, and, equally dependent on a supreme ecclesiastical authority at home, that a request so reasonable would have met with a prompt and cheerful compliance."

At the General Convention of 1814 Mr. John D. Clifford "presented a certificate, signed by the clerk of the vestry of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Lexington, in the State of Kentucky," authorizing him to represent the Church in that state. Inasmuch as no diocesan organization had been effected, he could only be allowed an honorary seat. Three years later, at the General Convention of 1817, the Church in the West was much in evidence. It was reported that there were nineteen organized parishes in Ohio, and that a flourishing congregation existed at Lexington, in Kentucky. For the first time the "western states" were recognized in the report on the state of the Church. The deputies submitted the facts to the House of Bishops and solicited their counsel and prayers. The bishops responded by urging the congregations in the various states to adopt measures for sending missionaries "to our destitute brethren in the western states." That was all.

Little wonder that the destitute brethren, tired of waiting, took matters into their own hands. Before the next General Convention the problem of episcopal supervision had solved itself. On June 13, 1818, the primary convention of Ohio met with an attendance of four clergymen, and laymen representing ten parishes. They promptly elected Philander Chase as first bishop of Ohio, and he was consecrated in Philadelphia, February 11, 1819. He found himself head of a diocese vast in extent, without any salary and with five clergymen. Leaving

his farm—his only means of livelihood—in the care of a hired man, Chase mounted his horse and went out to shepherd the flock scattered in the wilderness. Bishop Chase's adventures; his founding of Kenyon College; his settlement in the woods of Michigan; and his subsequent election as the first bishop of Illinois, are classics in the annals of the early American Church.

III. THE GREAT AWAKENING

WHEN William Meade was ordained in Virginia in 1811 there were seventeen in the congregation, and the utmost surprise was expressed that a gentleman of good birth and education should think of entering the ministry. The students of William and Mary College gravely discussed the question as to whether there were a God, and, for the most part, with equal gravity decided in the negative.

But the same year witnessed the consecration of two men to the episcopate—John Henry Hobart, of New York, and Alexander Viets Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese—who were destined to be powerful instruments in the awakening of the Church. Three years later they were joined by Richard Channing Moore, who succeeded Madison as bishop of Virginia.

Griswold and Hobart presented a striking contrast. The one began life as a plain New England farmer; the other was of gentle birth and a graduate of Princeton College. Ecclesiastically, they represented the two emerging Church parties of their day. Griswold, to the end of his long and honored life, was an old-fashioned evangelical. He had been born again in a revival in his own parish at Bristol, Rhode Island. The burden of his preaching was "that Jesus Christ is the Lord our Righteousness, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, and that eternal salvation is to be obtained through His merits." This gospel he preached throughout a laborious episcopate of thirty-two years. His diocese included the whole of New England, outside Connecticut. It was unfavorable soil for the Church. Puritanism had a name to live, but was well-nigh dead. Nevertheless, his simplicity of life and saintliness of character gradually overcame inherited prejudice. He began his work in the five states with twenty-two parishes and sixteen clergymen; at his death the parishes had multiplied fivefold, and each state was able to stand alone.

Hobart was reared in Christ Church, Philadelphia under the influence of Bishop White. He was by nature and grace aggressive. In a day when churchmen apologized for their existence, he boldly asserted the

historic character of the Church and the divine authority for her ministry and sacraments. But most of all he was vitally interested in the extension of the Church both in his own diocese and beyond it. Twice he visited Michigan, and he consecrated the first church in Detroit. Under his inspiring leadership the work in the diocese of New York increased by leaps and bounds. Missionaries went through the northern and western parts of the state preaching, administering the sacraments, building churches and organizing new parishes, and Hobart followed in their train, confirming the faithful and impressing all with his single-hearted devotion.

The Church's revival in the South owes a good deal to several leaders born in the North. It began in South Carolina under Theodore Dehon, a Bostonian and a graduate of Harvard. In 1810 he accepted the rectorship of St. Michael's Church, Charleston. South Carolina had had no bishop since the death of Robert Smith in 1801. Dehon's episcopate, 1812-1817, was short but brilliant. He was the first bishop to visit Georgia, where the memory of Whitefield was still green, and there he consecrated Christ Church, Savannah, and confirmed sixty persons.

The diocesan convention of 1814, which elected Richard Channing Moore as bishop of Virginia, was attended by only seven clergymen and eighteen laymen. His coming to Virginia from New York, as rector of Monumental Church, Richmond, had been engineered by certain young "reformers," of whom William H. Wilmer and William Meade were the chief. The election was a venture of faith, but they builded wiser than they knew. Channing Moore was an ardent evangelical and a preacher of commanding power. He went through eastern Virginia like a flame of fire. Dry bones came to life. Dead parishes were revived; discipline was restored; and the years that the locusts had eaten were restored.

The awakening spread. In 1815, at long last, New Jersey elected her first bishop. Four years later Connecticut aroused herself to fill a vacancy in her episcopate which had lasted for six years by electing Thomas Church Brownell, a recent convert to the Church.

The diocese of North Carolina was organized in 1817 and six years later elected John Stark Ravenscroft as her first bishop. Ravenscroft had a remarkable career. For eighteen years he never opened his Bible. His besetting sins were "an impatient and passionate temper, with a most sinful habit of profane swearing." Riding on his estate he was convinced of sin, and later became a lay preacher in an obscure denomination. He was ordained by Bishop Moore at the mature age of forty-five. His episcopate was brief—seven years—but it left an indelible mark on the diocese.

THE NEED OF LENGTHENING THE CORDS

So the Church strengthened her stakes in the older states. But there remained the duty of lengthening her cords and enlarging the place of her tent. She was facing the years of territorial expansion which came with bewildering rapidity. By means of the Louisiana Purchase, Thomas Jefferson extended the boundaries of the United States from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, and Florida was acquired in 1819.

All this meant new fields for the Church to conquer. Many of the settlers in these new regions were either churchmen or descendants of churchmen, and the lack of corporate action by the Church involved the loss of thousands of potential communicants. A little was done, not by the Church as a corporate body, but by the heroic efforts and tireless devotion of individual missionaries who ventured into the wilderness, not at the bidding of bishops, but for love of men. If the leaders of the Church were alive to the situation, they seemed unable to devise means to cope with it. The experience of the colonial Church in its repeated failure to obtain the episcopate from England, was duplicated in the United States between 1800 and 1835. Even western Pennsylvania and western Virginia, parts of established dioceses, were left severely alone. Bishop White never crossed the Alleghanies until 1823, and there is no recorded visitation to western Virginia (now West Virginia). All the bishops were rectors of parishes or heads of colleges, and these came first. Bishop White went so far as to protest against the demand for frequent episcopal visitations, on the ground that it was inconsistent with a learned episcopate.

The newer parts of the country were worse off. They had no territorial claim upon any bishop. All that the General Convention did was to urge them to organize a diocese and elect a bishop. This they could not canonically do. Canon two declared that before electing a bishop a diocese must have six resident presbyters and six or more organized parishes. In the newer states and territories, as well as in older states like Georgia and North Carolina, this provision could not be met, and had it been canonically possible, they were too poor to support a bishop.

Nowadays, such a situation is met by the Church's sending a missionary bishop, but then such a step would have been revolutionary. The fundamental principle of the constitution adopted in 1789 was the absolute independence of the Church in each state. On no other basis would union have been possible. In the older states the Church was organized before the General Convention, and in adhering to the constitution the Church in each state was careful to assert and retain

its own sovereign rights. Maryland is typical. In setting forth a statement of her Fundamental Rights and Liberties, she put in the forefront the right to complete and preserve herself, with free exercise of spiritual powers, independent of foreign or other jurisdiction.

The General Convention perforce recognized these sovereign rights. The basic theory was a bishop in each state, elected by the state. It is noteworthy that the word "diocese" does not appear in the official records of General Convention until 1838, when a reluctant consent was given to divide the diocese of New York. Bishops were not sent into new territories, because such action would be an unwarrantable interference with the sovereign rights of the Church in that state. As Bishop George Washington Doane once wrote:

"Hitherto she had worked to disadvantage in sending out and sustaining, in her missionary field, deacons and presbyters without the benefit of episcopal influence and episcopal supervision. Her flocks were thus without a shepherd. And she stood before the world, so far as she was a missionary church, an anomaly, a self-contradiction; professing to do nothing without a bishop and yet planting churches everywhere which owed allegiance to no bishop."

But many influences were at work to effect a fundamental change. The Church was about to arise and enlarge the sphere of her work.

IV. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1821

THE persistent pleadings of the Church in the western states, and the organization of the diocese of Ohio, had the effect of awakening the Church in the older states to the necessity of some ordered provision for the prosecution of missionary work.

In 1814 Bishop Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese, which included Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont and Maine, delivered a charge to his clergy on the missionary duty of the Church. This, together with a pastoral letter, was published the following year. In the latter year the secretary of the English Church Missionary Society addressed a circular letter to "several of the leading members of the Episcopal Church in the United States" on the work of missions. In reply thereto Bishop Griswold sent a copy of his charge and pastoral letter, both of which were published in the *London Missionary Register* for 1816. Later in the year the bishop wrote Mr. Pratt, secretary of the society, suggesting the appointment of the Rev. Joseph R. Andrus.*

*Mr. Andrus went to Africa in 1821 as an agent for the American Colonization Society and died there the following year.

a clergyman of the Eastern Diocese, as a missionary to Ceylon. The authorities of the Church Missionary Society expressed their willingness to make the appointment, but took the opportunity to suggest the formation of a missionary society in the American Church "which, however small in its beginnings, might ultimately so increase as to produce the most extensive good." Mr. Pratt went on to say:

"Should the formation of an American Episcopal Missionary Society be accomplished, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society authorizes you to draw upon me for the sum of two hundred pounds to encourage the contributions of the friends of the Episcopal Church and of Christianity at large. In this case Mr. Andrus had better be sent to Ceylon under the proposed society, and be instructed to cooperate with such of our missionaries as may be fixed in that island."

The suggestion fell on fertile soil. The way had been prepared by the formation of a few diocesan missionary societies. As far back as 1796, New York had appointed a committee for "Propagating the Gospel in the State of New York." In 1816 Pennsylvania organized two societies: one for work within the state, and the other expressly for missions beyond its own borders. Under the auspices of the latter, a clergyman was sent to Ohio and visited some parts of Kentucky and Tennessee. Those who were interested soon realized the necessity for work on a larger scale. The Pennsylvania Society, therefore, appointed a committee to draft a scheme for a general organization. That report was published early in 1820 under the title:

"Report of a committee appointed by the managers of the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society of Pennsylvania on the subject of a General Missionary Society for Foreign and Domestic Missions; which will be proposed for the consideration of the next General Convention, to sit in this city (Philadelphia) on the 16th of May next."

Although not signed, the report was prepared by the Rev. Jackson Kemper, afterwards the first missionary bishop of the American Church; George Boyd, later first secretary of the Board of Missions; and William A. Muhlenberg, then rector of St. James' Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The committee reported strongly in favor of a general society. "We cannot see," they wrote, "the American Episcopal Church in different in this great enterprise, without painful and boding regret." Two fields of service were indicated: "Those parts of our own country where the means of grace are not enjoyed, and the pagan nations scat-

tered over a large proportion of the Eastern Continent." Thus was the way paved, after so many distressing delays, for the creation of a great missionary society.

The General Convention met in Philadelphia on May 16, 1820. Eight bishops were in attendance and the House of Deputies numbered thirty-six clerical and twenty-seven lay deputies, representing fourteen dioceses. On the third day of the session, the Rev. George Boyd, a deputy from Pennsylvania, "offered for consideration a preamble and resolutions on the subject of a missionary society." The matter was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Boyd, the Rev. John P. K. Henshaw, afterwards bishop of Rhode Island, and Messrs. Duncan Cameron, of North Carolina, and Francis Scott Key, of Maryland, author of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Matters of commanding interest were before the convention, including the removal of the Theological Seminary from New Haven to New York, and the report of the committee was not considered until the last day of meeting. On that day, however, with considerable haste, a constitution of a missionary society was adopted by both houses, the title of the organization being "The Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society in the United States for Foreign and Domestic Missions."

The management was to be vested in a board of twenty-four members, half of whom were to be residents in or near Philadelphia. The cost of membership was fixed at \$3; of patrons, \$50 or upward. Contributions might be designated for either domestic or foreign missions. Auxiliary societies were to be formed in the various states "to secure patronage, and to enlarge the funds of the institution." Added to the constitution was this touching note:

"It is recommended to every member of this society, to pray to Almighty God for His blessing upon its designs, under the full conviction that unless He directs us in all our doings with His most gracious favor, and furthers us with His continual help, we cannot reasonably hope, either to procure suitable persons to act as missionaries, or expect that their endeavors will be crowned with success."

The board of directors at once issued an address to the Church at large, soliciting funds for the work. No sooner had this address been issued than it was discovered that unintended defects in the constitution of the society made a suspension of operations necessary. That defect, as Bishop White records, placed the new organization under the grave suspicion of being "an intended engine against the institutions of the Church." In the haste of drafting the constitution, no provision had been made for the bishops to vote for the trustees of the society; they

were not eligible for seats on the board; and, if in attendance, could neither speak nor vote. Hence, "the gentlemen named as managers found themselves incompetent to the purpose of the appointment."

Under ordinary circumstances, the work would have been arrested for three years, but, fortunately, the affairs of the General Theological Seminary demanded the calling of a special General Convention in 1821. At this meeting the necessary amendments to the constitution of the society were adopted and the title was amended to read:

"The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

Membership included all the bishops and all the members of the House of Deputies; subscribers of \$3 annually, and life members based upon a contribution of \$30 or more. The provision that half the managers should live in or near Philadelphia was eliminated, though the annual meeting was to be held in that city, save when the General Convention met elsewhere. It also provided that twenty per cent of all contributions should be invested in a permanent fund. Notice of the formation of the society was sent to England, and the Church Missionary Society responded with the gift of £200 promised to Bishop Griswold in 1816.

The Board of Directors met in the vestry room of St. James' Church, Philadelphia, on the third Wednesday in November, 1821, and proceeded to organize the society. Bishop White was elected president, and the vice-presidents included all the remaining bishops—Hobart, Griswold, Richard Channing Moore, James Kemp, Croes, of New Jersey; Bowen, of South Carolina; Philander Chase, Brownell, and Ravenscroft, of North Carolina. The Rev. George Boyd and Samuel J. Robbins were appointed secretaries, and twenty-four directors were chosen. They represented fourteen states and included such patrons as are found in the names of the Rev. Messrs. Jackson Kemper, John P. K. Henshaw, William Richmond, and James Milnor, together with such laymen as John Jay, of New York, and Francis Scott Key, of Maryland. Evangelicals and high churchmen were equally represented and dwelt together in unity.

So, in the good providence of God, it came to pass that after nearly thirty years of effort, the Church had her own missionary society; and it entered upon its labors, followed by the interest and prayers of the Church both in the United States and in England.

V. MACHINERY AND METHODS

THE newly elected board of directors of the society found themselves confronted by a most difficult task. From all parts of the rapidly growing western states and territories came the imperious plea for missionaries to labor in fields already white unto harvest, and there was a strong sentiment in the Church for the immediate dispatch of missionaries to the west coast of Africa where the Liberian Republic had been established for negroes from the United States. But the directors had neither missionaries nor means to send them. The Church had not completely recovered from the lethargy of past years, but there was the sound of the wind in the tops of the mulberry trees. Griswold was steadily pursuing his apostolic labors amid the hills and dales of New England, and steadily holding aloft the call to missionary work; Hobart was flinging far his banner—inscribed “Evangelical Truth” and “Apostolic Order”—and revolutionizing the Church in the great state of New York; Philander Chase was exploring every corner of Ohio, and Richard Channing Moore, with his flaming evangelism and silver-tongued eloquence, was moving Virginia throughout its older counties. The Church was ready to lengthen her cords as well as strengthen her stakes.

The first task of the board was to get in touch with the whole membership of the Church and enlist its sympathy and support. It was not easy. Postal arrangements were slow and costly. Traveling was often dangerous and always expensive; the telegraph was unborn. The outstanding figure in the Church was the presiding bishop, William White, who made up for lack of aggression by his great wisdom in counsel. As president of the newly formed board he issued a letter dated February 16, 1822, with the title page reading:

“The Address of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America to the Members of Said Church.”

After a masterly review of the state of the Church at the close of the War of the Revolution, when “the far greater number of our congregations were destitute of pastors; and, indeed, in a state approaching annihilation,” he gratefully acknowledged the “gradual revival of the administration of the ordinances,” but laid stress upon the fact that there were still large numbers of the faithful without an Episcopal ministry, and who could not be reached save by missionary agencies.

"It adds immensely to the necessity of the present call on your beneficence, that while the active members of our Church have been occupied in repairing the decayed ways and renewing the dilapidated buildings of our Zion, new prospects have been opening on them westward in immense territories, in which the Church is to be reared, if at all, from its foundations. It has been distressing to the hearts of those prominent in our ecclesiastical concerns, that for some years past they have received continued and earnest requests for ministerial supplies, which there were no means of meeting. Some aid has been afforded. It has been very small; but the thankfulness with which it was received . . . presents pleasing presages of what may be expected from the combined efforts of our Church throughout the Union, prudently directed, and sustained by the liberality of its members generally."

He appealed to the good work done in this country by the Church of England through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

"We stand in relation to our brethren in the new states not unlike to that which before the Revolution the Episcopal population in the Atlantic provinces stood to the parent Church in England. Then she extended her fostering care to her sons, and organized a society in which the prelates took the lead, without whose aid all traces of our Apostolic Church in many of the provinces would have been lost. The time is come for us to repay the benefit, not to them, but to those who migrated from us, as our fathers did from the land of their nativity."

Pointing out that the missionary work had been hindered by the lack of ministers as much as by the scarcity of means, the bishop expresses the hope that the founding of the General Theological Seminary would aid in the supplying of ministers to those states which had not risen into existence when this Church was organized. He closes with a strong insistence upon the duty of sending the Gospel to the benighted heathen and with a plea for the prayers of the faithful.

To aid in gathering funds, auxiliary societies, both diocesan and parochial, were established. The first of these was The Missionary Society of the Diocese of Maryland, auxiliary to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the United States. Of this society Bishop Kemp was president. This was quickly followed by an auxiliary in the parish of the Rev. William A. Muhlenberg at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and a third was established at Trinity Church, Easton, Maryland. The noteworthy feature of this branch of the work was, that of the first eleven auxiliaries, eight were established by women, and the names should be recorded. They are as follows:

The Auxiliary Female Missionary Society of St. John's Church, in the northern Liberties of Philadelphia, August 28, 1822.

The Episcopal Female Missionary Society in the Borough of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, November, 1822.

The Auxiliary Female Missionary Society of Beaufort, South Carolina, February, 1823.

The Female Missionary Society of Christ Church, Savannah, Georgia, March, 1823.

The Female Auxiliary Missionary Society of Germantown, Pennsylvania, April 29, 1823.

The Auxiliary Female Missionary Association of Christ Church, Philadelphia, April, 1823.

The Auxiliary Female Missionary Association of Trinity Church, Southwark, Pennsylvania, May 7, 1823.

These "female" societies antedate the formation of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions by nearly fifty years, and to the diocese of Pennsylvania belongs the honor of first enlisting women in the missionary work of the Church.

The directors soon found it necessary to devise some practical method of keeping in touch with the Church and especially with the auxiliaries. The Church papers had a very limited circulation, and there was no missionary paper. It was, therefore, decided to seek the consent of the bishops to send agents into the dioceses. The replies were far from encouraging. The episcopate was absorbed with diocesan needs. Bishop Hobart was convinced that such a plan would seriously interfere with the collections for diocesan missions in New York; Channing Moore advised that no effort be made in Virginia until after the General Convention, and, in view of the fact that funds were being solicited for the Theological School, was of the opinion that such a step would be impolitic. Bowen, of South Carolina, approved such an agency, but doubted the success of any plan, however excellent, which "has not a direct bearing upon the necessities of this diocese." Chase, of Ohio, was shy of the proposal, and apparently the only two bishops who approved of the plan were Brownell, of Connecticut, and Croes, of New Jersey. The Church was still parochial.

Undiscouraged, the directors pursued their plan. Some of the larger parishes permitted their rectors to act as agents for the society for a limited period. The first of these was the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. He visited Connecticut with the following pecuniary results:

In Hartford	\$75.00
In Middletown	21.00
In New London	42.00
In New Haven	70.00

A total of \$208, to which must be added a gift of securities to the value of \$1,100, made by a lady at Middletown. This is the first recorded large gift for missions. The Rev. Amos G. Baldwin, who had been officiating at Ogdensburg, New York, was appointed western agent in December, 1822, and the Rev. Nathaniel S. Wheaton, of Connecticut, and Rev. Eleazar Williams were assigned to Michigan.

The first triennial meeting of the society was held at St. James' Church, Philadelphia, May 20, 1823. The sermon was preached by Bishop White, from Isaiah 55:10-11:

"For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater: so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

The report of the directors was mainly occupied by a recital of the steps taken towards perfecting an organization. So far as actual work was concerned, there was not a single missionary employed either in the domestic or the foreign field. It was, however, contemplated to send a missionary to Green Bay, Michigan, and also one to the north-west coast of Africa, and an application had been received for a missionary to be sent to St. Augustine, Florida. The treasurer, Mr. Thomas Hale, reported a balance in hand for general missions of \$2,256.10; for domestic missions of \$376.80, and for the foreign work of \$1,157.96. The permanent fund amounted to \$1,206.24. There were 21 patrons; 11 life members and 74 annual subscribers, by far the larger number being from Philadelphia.

The next three years in the history of the society were trying both

to faith and patience. The story of the development of the domestic work and the failure to establish a foreign mission will be told in other chapters; this is concerned with machinery and methods. The most hopeful feature of the second triennial period was the growth of the auxiliary societies. They increased from eleven to thirty-two. A diocesan auxiliary was formed in Delaware, and parochial societies at Providence and Newport, in Rhode Island; Boston, Salem, and Marblehead, in Massachusetts; and at several places in Connecticut. During the three years the number of patrons and life members doubled, but the annual subscribers only increased by eight.

The society was employing three domestic missionaries at a total cost of \$950 per annum, and no foreign workers at all. The financial situation was not encouraging. On general missions there was a deficit of \$502.17, and on domestic missions the balance was reduced to \$178.09. The foreign fund was untouched. The executive committee found itself constrained to say:

"Thus far the society has excited but a very inadequate interest, and met with a patronage altogether disproportioned, both to the exigencies and the resources of the Church. This state of things," the report adds, "we would rather attribute to a want of acquaintance with the existence and claims of the society, than to a want of interest in its important objects."

Some improvement was noted at the triennial of 1829. "The board have cause to express thankfulness to God that some portions of the cloud that rested upon the society's path at the last meeting have been dispersed." One reason for the lifting of the cloud was that something had been attempted and something accomplished. The first foreign missionary of the Church was prospecting in Greece and sending home glowing accounts of the possibilities in that unhappy country, just mercifully delivered from the cruel yoke of the unspeakable Turk. The way was also opening for the long projected mission to Liberia. During the three years in the domestic field, churches had been opened at Detroit and St. Louis; missionaries were at work at St. Augustine, Pensacola and Tallahassee in Florida; and at Tuscaloosa in Alabama; the mission at Green Bay had been re-opened, and the Oneida Indians in Michigan had come under the care of the society.

Notwithstanding these efforts it was reported that the society "has not yet received, or at least has not till very recently received, even from the friends of missions amongst us, that general and cordial support which was so earnestly to have been desired."

VI. SEARCHINGS OF HEART AND INCREASED ACTIVITY

BY 1829 it was evident to those who were most deeply interested in the missionary work of the Church that something was wrong.

A pamphlet published in Philadelphia entitled, *Crisis in the Affairs of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: and An Appeal to Episcopalians in Its Behalf*, excited widespread attention. It was a fearless analysis of a most unhappy situation. The writer pointed out that the average income of the society during the eight years of its existence had not exceeded \$1,500 per annum; that the organization was ineffective, being without a general agent and with its treasury exhausted; and that there were but four missionaries at work in three stations.

A committee of the House of Deputies presented an exhaustive report not free from caustic criticism. The committee attributed the lack of the support of the society partly to the want of plans to raise money on systematic principles, and partly to certain features of the constitution, which not only impeded the operations of the society, but also estranged many who should have been its friends. The directors suffered, as they pathetically confessed, "from a chronic uncertainty concerning the income." They were obliged "to rely upon voluntary, irregular, and often, intermittent congregational collections and casual donations." This made the engagement of missionaries extremely hazardous, and their prompt payment almost impossible.

The committee expressed the view that missionary efforts had been spread over too large an area to be really effective, and suggested that the foreign work be confined to Greece and the proposed mission in Liberia. On the domestic side, the problem of the selection of strategic points was most difficult because the South and West country was growing, as the committee said, "with unexampled and almost fearful rapidity." The problem of "where, in that vast expanse which is ripening as wheat unto harvest, it can put in the sickle with the best prospect of reaping an abundant and glorious harvest," was really a very serious one. It was, however, remembered that Bishop Ravenscroft, of North Carolina, had recently paid a visit to the parishes in Kentucky and Tennessee, it being the first episcopal visitation to those states. He had not only administered confirmation, but had gathered large and valuable information on the conditions and prospects of the Church. The committee recommended the extension of this plan, and expressed its opinion that there could "be no enterprise better calculated to reflect honor on the episcopal character."

Certain changes were made in the constitution of the society. Four standing committees were appointed—finance, domestic, foreign, and library. The Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, afterwards bishop of Kentucky, and the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks were appointed secretaries. As yet, there was no paid agent, and the board still depended upon voluntary workers to visit the mission stations. The Rev. Alonzo Potter, rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, and afterwards bishop of Pennsylvania, went through the eastern states, and Bishop Meade, of Virginia, visited Kentucky and Tennessee.

The most notable step was the appointment of Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut, to visit the states lying west and south of the Alleghanies. In company with the Rev. William Richmond, of New York, he left Philadelphia, journeyed to Pittsburgh; thence down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans, and on to Mobile, Alabama, a journey of nearly 6,000 miles by stage, steamboat, and on horseback. The bishop consecrated six churches, administered confirmation in seven parishes and held one ordination.

In Mississippi he found the wealthy planters well disposed towards the Church, but notes that the prospects "seemed exceedingly gloomy on his arrival." Two clergymen had just left the state, and two others were preparing to leave. In Louisiana there were but two organized parishes, but a meeting was held to organize the Church in the state. It was attended by the three resident clergymen and by "several respectable laymen." In Alabama there were many scattered churchmen, but only four settled parishes. Georgia was reported as being greatly in need of missionaries.

The bishop estimated that in the states of Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana and in the territories of Florida, Arkansas, Michigan, and Missouri, there was a population of 4,000,000 with twenty Episcopal congregations, eleven completed churches, and twenty-three clergymen. Other denominations were in like case. Immense districts were found to be either entirely destitute of religious ministrations, or else at the mercy of itinerant preachers of no education and sometimes doubtful character, who substituted "heresy and fanaticism for religion and piety."

The increased activity of the society stimulated the interest and liberality of the Church. Auxiliaries were roused to greater activity, and some pledged annual contributions as high as \$200. The Missionary Association of St. Luke's Church, Rochester, New York, sent \$500—an exceptional gift for those days. In 1832 the income of the society rose to \$16,443.29. The largest contributions came from the dioceses of New York and Pennsylvania; the smallest from North Carolina. By the following year the income had increased \$10,000. It was felt,

therefore, that the time had come to extend the operations of the society and the matter was referred to a committee, of which George Washington Doane, just elected bishop of New Jersey, was chairman.

The report is noteworthy not only for its policy of aggression, but also because of its enunciation of fundamental principles which were destined to revolutionize the missionary policy of the Church in the United States. A forward movement was recommended, the conviction being expressed that "the best mode of increasing the means of the society was an immediate and very considerable increase of its active operations." In accordance with this policy the executive committee was advised to appoint twenty additional missionaries in the domestic field. They were to be distributed in the following states, territories, and dioceses: Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, the South-western diocese, and in such other states and territories in the West and South as were not yet organized into dioceses. On the foreign side, the problem was not so easy. Missionaries of other churches were at work in Liberia, but as yet the Episcopal Church had gained no footing in the Negro Republic. The appointment of two missionaries was, therefore, recommended, and inquiry was to be made concerning other openings in Africa. The Rev. George Boyd, of Philadelphia, was appointed general agent of the society, and proceeded to organize parochial associations in support of the work of the board.

MISSIONARY PERIODICALS

To this period belongs the story of the beginnings of missionary periodicals. The directors of the society were early impressed with the necessity of devising some method whereby they could keep the members of the Church regularly informed of the plans and progress of the missionary work. For reasons of economy this was first tried through the medium of the established Church papers; but this method proved to be inadequate and unsatisfactory. In 1827 steps were taken to establish an official organ of the society. It took the form of a periodical entitled, *Quarterly Papers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*. The first number was issued in March, 1828. The eight pages were taken up with a statement of the plans of the board for establishing a permanent mission in Africa, and copious extracts from English papers on conditions in the Dark Continent. The paper was suspended from December, 1828, to July, 1829, and again from then until March, 1830.

The following year the society resolved to publish a monthly paper, but the executive committee compromised on an issue every two months. The first number of this new series was dated March, 1831, and its title

was, *The Periodical Missionary Paper*. It was designed to contain a "regular history of the society's proceedings, extracts from correspondence and reports of missionaries; together with the most important and encouraging facts collected from the publications of other societies, particularly those of our own Church in England and elsewhere." The first three numbers contained upon the front page blood-curdling pictures of the procession of Juggernaut, human sacrifices in Africa, and Hindoo devotees. Happily, these soon ceased.

The plan for a monthly paper would not down. On January 1, 1833, therefore, there appeared *The Missionary Record*, numbering sixteen pages. The subscription price was \$1 per annum, and free copies were sent to the members of the society and to the clergy. The entire cost of this publication was a trifle over \$1,000 per annum. There were 513 subscribers, and one firm paid \$80 for the privilege of advertising on the cover. The net cost to the society was, therefore, \$487 for the year. In reply to a criticism of this very moderate outlay, the directors affirmed their conviction "that the steady progress of the society depends, under the blessing of God, on the diffusion of missionary intelligence"—a statement which subsequent history has amply justified.

After the reorganization of the society in 1835, a committee was appointed by the newly elected board of missions "to take order as to a missionary paper." It was resolved to issue the paper in New York and the Rev. W. R. Whittingham, afterwards bishop of Maryland, was appointed editor at a salary of \$300 per annum. It was further unanimously resolved that the title be, *The Spirit of Missions*, and that "it be neatly printed in octavo in sixteen pages, with a cover; afforded to subscribers at \$1 per annum, payable in advance." The first number appeared in January, 1836. What are described as "providential circumstances" prevented Mr. Whittingham from undertaking the editorship, and Bishop George Washington Doane supervised the first three issues. The initial number had thirty-two pages, the place of honor being given to the proceedings of the domestic and foreign committees. Foreign missions were represented by an important letter addressed to Bishop White by the Rev. Dr. J. H. Hill, our missionary in Greece, followed by part of a sermon preached by the Rev. Horatio Southgate, Jr., recently appointed missionary to Turkey and the Near East. From the domestic field were letters from Bishops Otey and Kemper, and a communication from the Rev. Isaac W. Hallam, "missionary to Chicago," who reports an increasing congregation and an addition of four to the list of communicants. Mention is also made of the safe arrival of the Rev. Messrs. Henry Lockwood and Francis R. Hanson, the first missionaries of the American Church to China.

VII. THE BEGINNINGS OF DOMESTIC MISSIONS UNDER THE SOCIETY

FROM the outset the foreign and domestic work was regarded as "one and indivisible," but the latter was nearest at hand and the first to be undertaken.

In an address to the members of the Church, the managers of the society set forth the case of the faithful all over the United States who were destitute of Christian privileges, and of those who, "being either emigrants, or descendants of emigrants from among ourselves, have not the means of enjoying the religious services which they prefer."

"It has been estimated that in the states and territories situate on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, there are not less than 150,000 professing Episcopalians, from whom comes the constant cry: 'Come over and help us.'"

In 1822 a committee was directed to ascertain the most important stations to be occupied, and to inquire for missionaries. Jackson Kemper, the chairman, communicated with Bishop Chase, who wrote recommending the employment of itinerant missionaries, and pleaded for the poor congregations of Ohio, stating that if they were suffered to expire for want of the Word and Sacraments, "there are poor hopes and small encouragements to sow and plant elsewhere."

Joseph Doddridge, who had labored almost single-handed in Western Pennsylvania, reported that:

"In all my little missionary excursions in the State of Ohio and the western part of Virginia, I have found the state of things everywhere the same. . . . In every place there exists the skeleton of an Episcopal congregation . . . a considerable number of Episcopalian descent who have not associated themselves with any other religious community; and these people are, for the most part, the most wealthy and the most intelligent part of the population."

From Alabama, the Rev. Christopher Haneckle reported the presence of many churchmen who had come from the southern states, but no clergyman of the Church to minister to them. In Kentucky, Louisville, the most important station, with a large number of Church families, a clergyman would be received with "open arms." St. Louis stood ready to support a minister, and Nashville, Tennessee, was entirely destitute of a minister of the Church. It was likewise reported that Illinois "contains a number of the friends of our Church," and Indiana

"a number of Episcopal families." And so the story ran: people hungering for the Word of life and the Sacraments of grace.

Such was the immediate problem in the domestic field. The first response was a draft for \$200 sent to Bishop Chase and drawn in favor of "William Little, treasurer of the Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio"—the first recorded appropriation for missions in this Church.

IN FLORIDA

Florida was the first station selected for a missionary. During the British occupancy of twenty years, there had been missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and a church had been erected which was pulled down by the Roman Catholics when the country was ceded back to Spain. In 1819 Florida came into the possession of the United States, and two years later the Young Men's Missionary Association of Charleston, South Carolina, sent the Rev. Andrew Fowler "to St. Augustine as their missionary for the space of two months, in order, if possible, to collect and organize a congregation." Mr. Fowler arrived to find the city in the grip of yellow fever. Nevertheless, he held his first service in the old Government House on October 7, and preached to "a numerous, respectable and attentive audience." Two years later the missionary society sent the Rev. Mellish L. Motte, of South Carolina, to St. Augustine, where he preached in the courthouse. The venture met with scant success. Mr. Motte found "idleness and dissipation" rampant, and, discouraged by the lack of support, he returned to South Carolina. Although without a clergyman, a parish was organized with twenty communicants. In 1826 the Rev. Raymond A. Henderson arrived, and four years later the church edifice, "a neat building of hewn stone, fifty by fifty-five feet, of the Gothic order," was near completion, and was consecrated by Bishop Bowen, of South Carolina, in 1834, when twenty persons were confirmed. Mr. Henderson also conducted the first Church services in Jacksonville.

In 1827 the society sent the Rev. Ralph Williston to Tallahassee, but he remained at Pensacola for a time, where he officiated in the courthouse and organized Christ Church. In the entire population of 2,000 souls there were twelve Episcopalians, ten Methodists, two Presbyterians, and the same number of Baptists. Later a "neat and substantial church, well adapted to the climate," was erected, but not paid for. From Pensacola, Mr. Williston proceeded to Tallahassee, where he found two communicants, and there he organized St. John's Church, after which Florida knew him no more. At Jacksonville the Rev. David Brown organized St. John's Church, East Florida, and found there "a

few old folks who belonged to the Church forty years before." Key West, which had been a resort for pirates, received its first missionary in 1832, but death cut his service short. His successor was not pleased with the climate, and in 1836 the society appointed the Rev. Robert Dyce.

In 1838 the diocese of Florida was organized with parishes at Tallahassee, St. Augustine, Pensacola, Jacksonville, St. Joseph, Apalachicola, and Key West. It was placed in charge of Bishop Otey, of Tennessee. The same year Bishop Kemper made a visitation and consecrated the church at Pensacola and also at Tallahassee, where he describes the church as "a neat wooden building with a portico and pillars in front . . . the interior arrangements exceedingly judicious and indicative of good taste; the organ and choir are good, and the communion plates and lamps handsome and rich." In 1850 the Rev. Francis Huger Rutledge (1799-1866), rector of St. John's, Tallahassee, was elected first bishop of Florida. He was consecrated the next year.

IN MISSOURI

The first services of the Church in Missouri were held in St. Louis in 1819 by the Rev. John Ward, of Lexington, Kentucky, in the First Baptist Church, and later in a dance hall. The population numbered 5,000, of whom six attended the service; and but two of the six had Prayer Books. Christ Church was organized December 6. In April, 1821, Mr. Ward returned to Kentucky and the pews and pulpit were sold to the Methodists.

Two years later the society sent the Rev. Thomas Horrell, of Maryland, as its first missionary to Missouri, which had just been admitted as a state. His initial work was done in Jackson County, where the fact that he was the only missionary in the state was found "to constitute a strong objection in the minds of serious persons, to attaching themselves to our Communion, as they feel no assurance that the ordinances will be perpetuated amongst them." The society was unable to respond to his appeal "for the counsel and support of a fellow-laborer," and in 1825 he moved to St. Louis. There many of "the most pious of the Episcopalians had joined other societies, despairing of ever obtaining a minister of their own." A small congregation, however, was gathered, a new vestry elected, and an unfinished building fitted for services. The congregations increased in numbers and in "respectful attention to the services of the sanctuary," and Mr. Horrell reports that he has administered the Holy Communion to seven persons, four of whom had never communed before.

In June, 1826, a church building was commenced and proceeded with painful slowness. Burdened with debt, local resources exhausted, and the building unfinished, the vestry turned for aid to their Christian brethren "beyond the mountains," and Mr. Horrell collected \$700 in New York and Philadelphia. In 1827 he reports twenty-seven families, twelve communicants residing in St. Louis and eight outside the town; thirty-two baptisms, six marriages, and four burials. The vestry could contribute nothing to the support of the minister, "as everything we can rake and scrape is swallowed up by the building itself." An effort to borrow money failed, even at ten per cent interest, "as churches are so little in demand." The church was finally opened November 10, 1829, and is described as "a neat little building . . . but looking more like an academy than a church, having forty-eight pews capable of seating 250 persons, with a gallery at one end in which is a most excellent organ."

Mr. Horrell removed to Tennessee in 1831, and the society appointed the Rev. L. H. Corson to Missouri. He reported that for 300 miles round St. Louis the fields were white unto harvest, and that he had found a venerable churchman who had lived in the woods and had not once seen a clergyman. Christ Church was consecrated May 25, 1834, by Bishop Benjamin Bosworth Smith of Kentucky, it being the first church consecrated west of the Mississippi and north of New Orleans.

IN MICHIGAN

The society next turned its attention to Michigan, which was settled mainly from New England, New York State, and Ohio.

The earliest Protestant services in Detroit had been conducted by British army chaplains. The Rev. George Mitchell had remained in the town eighteen months, and Priest Pollard's services in the council house had lasted from 1802 to 1823. He was a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Canada, and crossed the river in a canoe to minister to the twenty or thirty English-speaking families.

In 1821 the first minister of the Episcopal Church, the Rev. A. W. Welton, came from Buffalo to become minister of the First Protestant Society, and supported himself by teaching school. He died within the year. Whereupon the managers of the missionary society appointed the Rev. Richard F. Cadle, who arrived in Detroit June 12, 1824. There were 2,000 inhabitants, with a Roman Catholic, a Methodist, and a Union Church. Mr. Cadle found about forty persons attached to the Church and three or four communicants. The work prospered and St. Paul's Church was organized. In 1827 land was secured for a church designed to be built of brick. The cornerstone was laid by Bishop John

Henry Hobart, of New York, the first bishop to visit Michigan; he also confirmed eleven persons. On August 24, 1828, the church was consecrated by Hobart. It measured sixty by forty-nine feet and had a gothic tower. The cost was \$4,500, and sixteen pews were sold for \$1,950.

Mr. Cadle did not confine his work to Detroit, but reached out to Ann Arbor and Troy, and officiated at Ypsilanti. At the end of five years he was succeeded by the Rev. Richard Bury, of Albany, New York, who found a small number of Church folk seriously embarrassed by the debt on the church. He reported to the society that not less than a dozen missionaries were needed and would be profitably engaged. In 1830 the Rev. S. W. Freeman came to Ann Arbor and included Dexter in his field. He organized the parish at Tecumseh. The following year a gifted Irishman of some means, the Rev. John O'Brien, settled at Monroe, where there were two communicants; he built a church, which was consecrated by Bishop McIlvaine in 1834.

At a meeting in Detroit, 1832, attended by three clergymen, the diocese of Michigan was organized. An appeal was made to the General Convention for a bishop, and the Rev. Samuel Allen McCoskry was elected. He was thirty-six years old, strikingly handsome, and never forgot the names of those he had confirmed. His first visitation covered 600 miles—by canoe, stage, steamboat, and horseback. Feeble parishes were revived and new ones organized. His episcopate lasted for forty-two years.

IN KENTUCKY

Kentucky was settled from Virginia and the first service of the Church was conducted in 1775 by the Rev. John Lyth* under an elm tree. Other clergymen followed, but forsook the ministry for secular work. Benjamin Sebastian became judge of the court of appeals, and James Elliott turned to farming; a third clergyman from Virginia settled as a doctor of medicine, and was killed in a duel. In 1800 a subscription was set on foot for the erection of a church in Lexington, where the Rev. James Moore was minister, and the Rev. William

*Rev. John Lyth was born in Yorkshire and graduated B. A. of Clare College, Cambridge, in 1756. Licensed by Bishop of London for Virginia in 1763. Was in South Carolina for a year in 1767. He was a settler in Harrodsburg, one of the four townships of the ill-fated Transylvania Colony, and was elected a member of the Transylvania Legislature, which assembled May 23, 1775. Took part in that Assembly and preached before it, said to be the first religious service on the soil of Kentucky, on May 28, 1775.

Transylvania became Kentucky County in Virginia and John Lyth was chaplain of Virginia militia in the campaigns against the Cherokee Indians in 1776 and 1777. He then enlisted as chaplain in a Virginia regiment, and became surgeon of the 13th Virginia Regiment of the Continental Army. He was killed by an Indian January 15, 1778. (See *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, **XLJ**, 237.)

Kavanaugh officiated at Louisville, Paris, Middletown, and Shelbyville, a range of 250 miles. The Rev. Henry M. Shaw settled at Louisville in 1823, and Christ Church was erected.

The diocese of Kentucky was organized at a meeting held at Lexington in July, 1829, and attended by three clergymen and delegates from the three parishes of Lexington, Louisville, and Danville. Later in the month Bishop Ravenscroft, of North Carolina, held confirmation, and in November Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut, on his southern visitation, consecrated the churches at Lexington and Louisville, but found the work in "a cold and depressed state." In 1830 the missionary society appointed its first missionary, the Rev. George P. Giddings, to Kentucky, and later in the same year the Rev. Robert Ash, who reports that he found at Shelbyville but one "pious Episcopalian, and but very few who appear to have any predilection for the Episcopal Church." In 1832 the Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, rector of Christ Church, Lexington, was elected first bishop of Kentucky and consecrated in St. Paul's Chapel, New York.

IN ALABAMA

It is impossible to detail all the operations of the society in the domestic field up to 1835, but mention should be made of Alabama and Illinois.

In 1826 the society sent the Rev. Robert Davis "to visit the State of Alabama and advance the interests of the society and religion there." He organized a parish at Tuscaloosa in 1828, and the following year the society appointed the Rev. William H. Judd as missionary at that station. Although Mr. Judd died within six months, he left a flourishing congregation and a church building almost completed. Mobile, where the Protestants had erected a church building for union services in 1822, was placed in charge of the Rev. Henry A. Shaw in 1826. There were twenty-eight communicants and the building is described as "too small and very old." In 1830 Bishop Brownell presided over the primary convention composed of "the principal Episcopalians of the city and from other parts of the state." The diocese was admitted into union with the General Convention two years later.

IN ILLINOIS

The Rev. L. H. Corson, of St. Louis, who visited Edwardsville, Illinois, expressed the opinion that Illinois was a more promising field for the Church than Missouri. Encouraged by this report the society sent the Rev. John Batchelder to Jacksonville in 1832. He found a parish under the name of Trinity Church already organized, and twenty

Episcopal families. The church was consecrated by Bishop Kemper in 1835. One year before the society had appointed three missionaries for Illinois—the Rev. Messrs. Isaac W. Hallam to Chicago; Henry Tullidge to Galena, and James C. Richmond to Rushville; in addition to which Palmer Dyer organized a parish at Peoria. On October 12, 1834, Mr. Dyer conducted the first Church service in Chicago in the Presbyterian meeting house, and Mr. Hallam arrived the same evening. St. James' Parish was organized on November 2, and Mr. Hallam writes:

"I can assure the society that they could not have sent a missionary to any place where his services are more needed, or may be more beneficial. Two years ago this place was known only as a military post. It is now as large as any town in the state, containing about 2,000 inhabitants."

In 1835 a church, sixty-four by forty-four, was begun, and occupied in a little less than two years. There were twenty communicants.

Meanwhile, the three clergymen of the state met and organized a diocese and resolved:

"That this Convention do hereby appoint the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D. D., a bishop in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, to the episcopate of Illinois; and that he be and hereby is invited to move into this diocese and to assume episcopal jurisdiction in the same."

Bishop Chase was fifty-nine years old and worn with labors oft; the diocese was unable to offer him any salary; there were only three clergymen in the diocese and a vast field to cover; but he entered on the work without hesitation, and remained at his post until his death on September 20, 1852.

Just prior to the reorganization of the society in 1835, the managers had sent missionaries to Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, and Florida.

VIII. THE BIRTH OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS

THE year 1835 will be forever marked as the most important in the history of the missionary work of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The revival which had swept the older states, and the rapid growth of the work in the newer states and territories demonstrated the fact that a radical reorganization of missionary effort was absolutely essential.

The first step was taken by the directors of the society. Early in 1835 they appointed a committee of seven "to consider and report whether any and what measures should be adopted for the more efficient organization of the society, and the future conduct of its concerns." It was a remarkable committee and had a still more remarkable history. The members were: Bishops George Washington Doane and Charles P. McIlvaine, the Rev. Drs. James Milnor, J. P. K. Henshaw, Frederick Beasely, Jackson Kemper, and Mr. A. C. Magruder.

Acute controversies were looming on the horizon. Less than two years before the appointment of this committee, John Keble had preached that notable sermon on national apostasy at Oxford—which Newman always said had marked the birth of the Tractarian movement. Copies had reached America and men were beginning to take sides. Doane was a militant high churchman of amazing versatility; a tireless worker; an ardent champion of the Church; a poet ranking with Keble himself; and a preacher of astonishing power. McIlvaine was the rising hope of the evangelicals and their acknowledged leader. Milnor and Henshaw were staunch and aggressive evangelicals, and Beasely and Kemper ranked as high churchmen. Mr. Magruder, the only lay member, was from the diocese of Maryland.

The story of how men of such diverse opinions came to an agreement is graphically told by Bishop Doane:

"It is a matter of record that the committee of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, by which the present missionary organization was reported, consisted of Bishop Doane, Bishop McIlvaine, Dr. Milnor, Dr. Henshaw, Dr. Kemper, Dr. Beasely, and Mr. Magruder. Before the committee had met the first three came casually together. 'What would you think,' said Dr. Milner, who had moved the resolution for the appointment of a committee, 'what should you think of reporting that the Church is the Missionary Society, and should carry on the work of missions by a board appointed by the General Convention?' 'Why,' replied Bishop Doane, 'it is the very plan which I have long thought ought to have been adopted, and for the adoption of which I should thank God with my whole heart.' 'How very strange is this,' said Bishop McIlvaine. 'I surely knew nothing of the mind of either of you, and yet that is the very plan which I have introduced into the sermon which I am to preach before the society!' When the committee met, the three members above named stated their views as above, and found them cordially reciprocated by all their associates. Thus, as to the principle of their report the committee were, from the first, unanimous. To whom shall the praise be given, but 'to the God that maketh men to be of one mind in a house?'"

The report, presented to the board of directors by Bishop Doane, voiced the opinion that "the best interests of religion and of man require an immediate and extensive change in the mode in which the Church has hitherto discharged the great missionary trust," and it went on to say:

"As to the mode of operations which they propose to substitute . . . the committee unanimously recommended that the *Church herself, in dependance on her divine Head, and for the promotion of His glory, undertake and carry on, in her character as the Church, and as the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, the work of Christian missions.*"

The missionary field was to be regarded as one—the world; the terms domestic and foreign being adopted for convenience alone. The appeal of the board was to be made to all baptized persons, as such, and based on their baptismal vows. Instead of relying upon auxiliaries, each parish was to be regarded as a missionary association, and its minister an agent of the board, for Jesus' sake.

To carry out these principles, the General Convention was to be the organ working through a board of missions, consisting of thirty members elected by concurrent vote of both Houses after nomination by a joint committee. The board was also directed to appoint two committees, of seven persons each, to have the active oversight of domestic and foreign missions, respectively.

The discussion of these revolutionary proposals excited great interest. A contemporary account says:

"The discussion of this subject, in the different bodies through which it passed, occupied several days, and was, in every circle, however remotely connected with the Church, the prevailing theme of every tongue. Large numbers of persons, not connected with the convention or the society, attended with unfailing interest the frequent and protracted sittings. The debates were conducted with great spirit and ability, in some cases in strains of powerful eloquence, but always with Christian kindness and courtesy."

To this may be added the more detailed account published by Bishop Doane in his diocesan paper, the *Missionary*:

"The report having been read, the chairman, on the motion of the Rev. Dr. Milnor, was requested to state the principles of the plan proposed by the committee, and the reasons which had led to their adoption. In response, Bishop Doane showed first that by the original constitution of Christ, the Church, as the Church, was the one great Missionary Society, and the

Apostles, and the bishops, their successors, His perpetual trustees: and that this great trust could not, and should never be divided or deputed. The duty, he maintained, to support the Church in preaching the Gospel to every creature, was one which passed on *every Christian, by the terms of his baptismal vow*, and from which he could not be absolved. The General Convention he claimed to be the duly constituted representative of the Church; and pointed out its admirable combination of all that was necessary to secure, on the one hand, the confidence of the whole Church, and, on the other, the most concentrated and intense efficiency. He then explained the constitution of the Board of Missions, the permanent agent of the Church in this behalf: developing and defining all its powers and functions, as the central reservoir of energy and influence for the missionary work, and the appointment by it, and in subordination to it, of the *two Executive Committees* for the two great departments, foreign and domestic, of the one great field—the missionary *hands* of the Church, reaching out into all the world to bear the Gospel to every creature—each having its *Secretary and Agent*. . . . For the effectual organization of the body, in the holy work to which the Saviour calls them, he indicated the parochial relation, as the most important of all bonds—calling on every clergyman, as the agent of the board, for Jesus' sake, to use his utmost efforts in instructing first, and interesting his people, then in engaging their free-will offering of themselves in its support, upon the apostolic plan of *systematic charity*—laying up in store every Lord's day, as God should prosper them; and, when the gathering was made, transmitting to the treasury of the Church the consecrated alms."

After a stirring debate the report was unanimously adopted by the directors.

The final decision lay with the General Convention, which assembled in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, on Wednesday, August 19, 1835. It was the last convention over which the venerable Bishop White presided, and the first time Tennessee was represented in the House of Bishops. The discussion of the proposed constitution of the society occupied considerable time. Bishop Griswold still clung to the plan of voluntary societies, which had proved so successful in England, and some of the evangelicals thought that there was a disposition to under-rate the character and success of the old organization, but these objections were finally overcome. On Friday, August 28th, the new constitution was adopted with some verbal amendments, and a joint committee was appointed to nominate the members of the new Board of Missions.*

Bishop White was president. The other bishops, sixteen in number, were vice-presidents. The elective members numbered fifteen presbyters

*See Appendix to this chapter for the list of members.

and fifteen laymen, representing eleven dioceses. In addition to the elective members, certain of the clergy and laity, who had been constituted patrons of the society prior to 1829, were, under the new constitution, *ex-officio* members of the board. They included the Rev. Drs. Jackson Kemper, James Milnor, Alonzo Potter, William H. DeLancey, and John P. K. Henshaw. It was a strong and thoroughly representative board, and contained nine future bishops.

Canonical provision was then made for the immediate election of two missionary bishops, which took place in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. Bishop Doane has left a vivid description of the election:

"In a retired apartment, the Fathers of the Church are in deep consultation. There are twelve assembled. They kneel in silent prayer. They rise. They cast their ballots. A presbyter, whose praise is in all the Churches, is called by them to leave a heritage as fair as ever fell to mortal man, and bear his Master's Cross through the deep forests of the vast Southwest. Again the ballots are prepared. They are cast in silence. They designate to the same arduous work, where broad Missouri pours her rapid tide, another, known and loved of all, whom, from a humbler lot, the Saviour now has called to feed His sheep. A messenger bears the result to the assembled deputies. A breathless silence fills the house of God. It is announced that Francis L. Hawks and Jackson Kemper, Doctors in Divinity, are nominated the two first Missionary Bishops of the Church; and all the delegates, as with a single voice, confirm the designation."

It was the closing act of a General Convention which will forever be memorable in the annals of the American Church.

"One scene remains.—The night is far advanced. The congregation linger still, to hear the parting counsel of their fathers in the Lord. There is a stir in the deep chancel. The Bishops enter, and array themselves in their appropriate seats. The aged patriarch, at whose hands they all have been invested with the warrant of their holy trust, stands in the desk,—in aspect, meek, serene, and venerable, as the beloved John at Ephesus, when, sole survivor of the apostolic band, he daily urged upon his flock the affecting lesson, 'Little children, love one another!' Erect and tall, though laden with the weight of almost ninety winters, and with voice distinct and clear, he holds enchained all eyes, all ears, all hearts, while, with sustained and vigorous spirit he recites, in behalf and name of all his brethren, the Pastoral message, drawn from the stores of his long hoarded learning, enforced by the deductions of his old experience, and instinct throughout with the seraphic meekness of his wisdom.—He ceases from his faithful testimony. The voice of melody, in the befitting words of that

delightful Psalm, 'Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,' melts all hearts. And then, all knees are bent, to ask once more, as something to be borne and cherished in all after life, the apostolic benediction of that good old man."

Well, indeed, might Dr. Milnor write to his wife: "All is harmony and peace. Never has there been a meeting of the great council of the Church at which so much has been done, and so well and satisfactorily done."

The new Board of Missions held its first meeting in St. Andrew's Church on September 19th. The following appointments were made:

DOMESTIC COMMITTEE:

The Rev. *Francis L. Hawks, D. D.*, the Rev. *Henry Anthon, D. D.*, the Rev. *Hugh Smith*, the Rev. *Lot Jones*; Messrs. *Henry Carey*, *Brittian L. Wooley*, *Anson Blake*, *Murray Hoffman*.

SECRETARY AND GENERAL AGENT:

The Rev. *Benjamin Dorr*.

FOREIGN COMMITTEE:

The Rev. *James Milnor, D. D.*, the Rev. *Manton Eastburn*, the Rev. *William Jackson*, the Rev. *J. M. Forbes*; Messrs. *Frederick S. Winston*, *Lewis Curtis*, *James F. De Peyster*, *John P. Stagg*.

SECRETARY AND GENERAL AGENT:

The Rev. *James Milnor, D. D.*

The matter of locating these two committees proved quite troublesome. For the foreign committee, Boston and Philadelphia were proposed without success, and eventually both were placed in New York. There is more in this than appears on the surface. It had been tacitly agreed that the high churchmen should have direction of domestic missions, and the low churchmen the foreign field. While, for the sake of peace, this may have been the best possible plan at the time, it had unfortunate results in later years, and was the ultimate cause of the formation of the American Church Missionary Society.

Because no provision was made for his support, Dr. Francis Lister Hawks felt compelled to decline his election as the first missionary bishop of the Southwest. During the General Convention of 1838 the Rev. Leonidas Polk was elected, and consecrated to that office on December 9th of that year. Dr. Jackson Kemper accepted his election as the first missionary bishop of the Northwest, was consecrated September 25, 1835, and began one of the notable episcopates in the history of the American Church.

APPENDIX

ELECTIVE MEMBERS OF THE NEW BOARD OF
MISSIONS, 1835

PRESIDENT:

Bishop White.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

Bishops *Alexander V. Griswold*, of the Eastern Diocese; *Richard Channing Moore*, Virginia; *Nathaniel Bowen*, South Carolina; *Philander Chase*, Illinois; *Thomas C. Brownell*, Connecticut; *Henry U. Onderdonk*, Pennsylvania; *William Meade*, Virginia; *William M. Stone*, Maryland; *Benjamin T. Onderdonk*, New York; *Levi S. Ives*, North Carolina; *John Henry Hopkins*, Vermont; *Benjamin B. Smith*, Kentucky; *Charles P. McIlwaine*, Ohio; *George W. Doane*, New Jersey; *James H. Otey*, Tennessee; *Jackson Kemper*, Missionary Bishop.

ELECTIVE MEMBERS:

MASSACHUSETTS—The Rev. *Jonathan M. Wainwright*, D. D., the Rev. *John S. Stone*; Messrs. *Simon Greenleaf*, *Edward Tuckerman*.

RHODE ISLAND—Mr. *Stephen T. Northam*.

CONNECTICUT—The Rev. *Henry Croswell*, D. D.; Mr. *Samuel H. Huntington*.

NEW YORK—The Rev. *Francis L. Hawks*, the Rev. *Manton Eastburn*, the Rev. *William L. Johnson*; Messrs. *Samuel Ward*, *Peter G. Stuyvesant*, *James Swords*.

NEW JERSEY—The Rev. *Clarkson Dunn*, the Rev. *George C. Morehouse*; Mr. *Joseph Sewell*.

PENNSYLVANIA—The Rev. *John W. James*, the Rev. *Stephen H. Tyng*, the Rev. *Samuel McCoskry*; Messrs. *Charles Wheeler*, *James S. Smith*, *John B. Wallace*.

MARYLAND—The Rev. *William E. Wyatt*, D. D., the Rev. *John Johns*, D. D.; Mr. *John B. Eccleston*.

VIRGINIA—The Rev. *Edward C. McGuire*; Mr. *John Gray*.

NORTH CAROLINA—Mr. *Charles P. Mallett*.

KENTUCKY—*John E. Cook*, M. D.

TENNESSEE—The Rev. *Leonidas Polk*.

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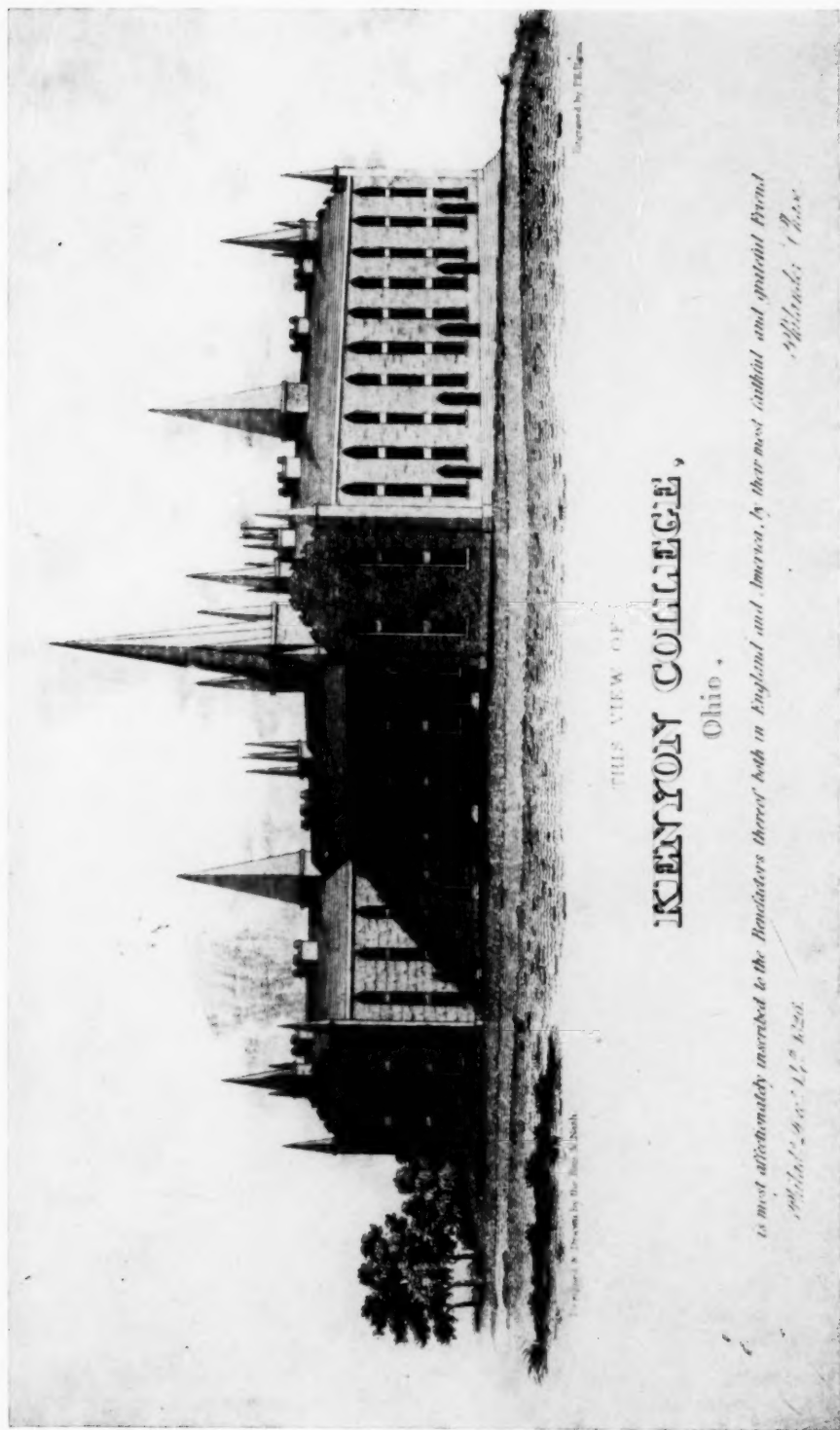


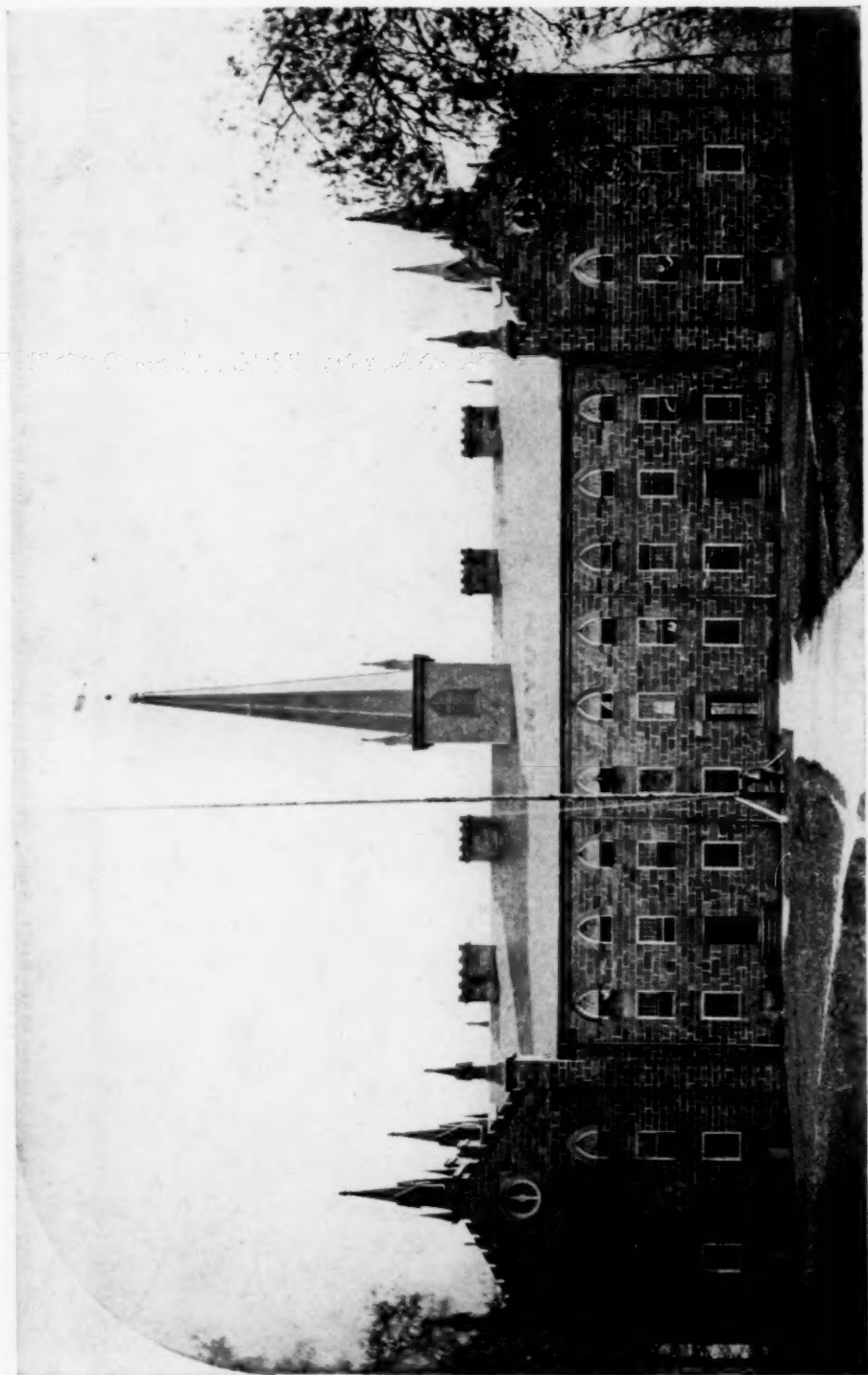
Plate 1

OLD KENYON

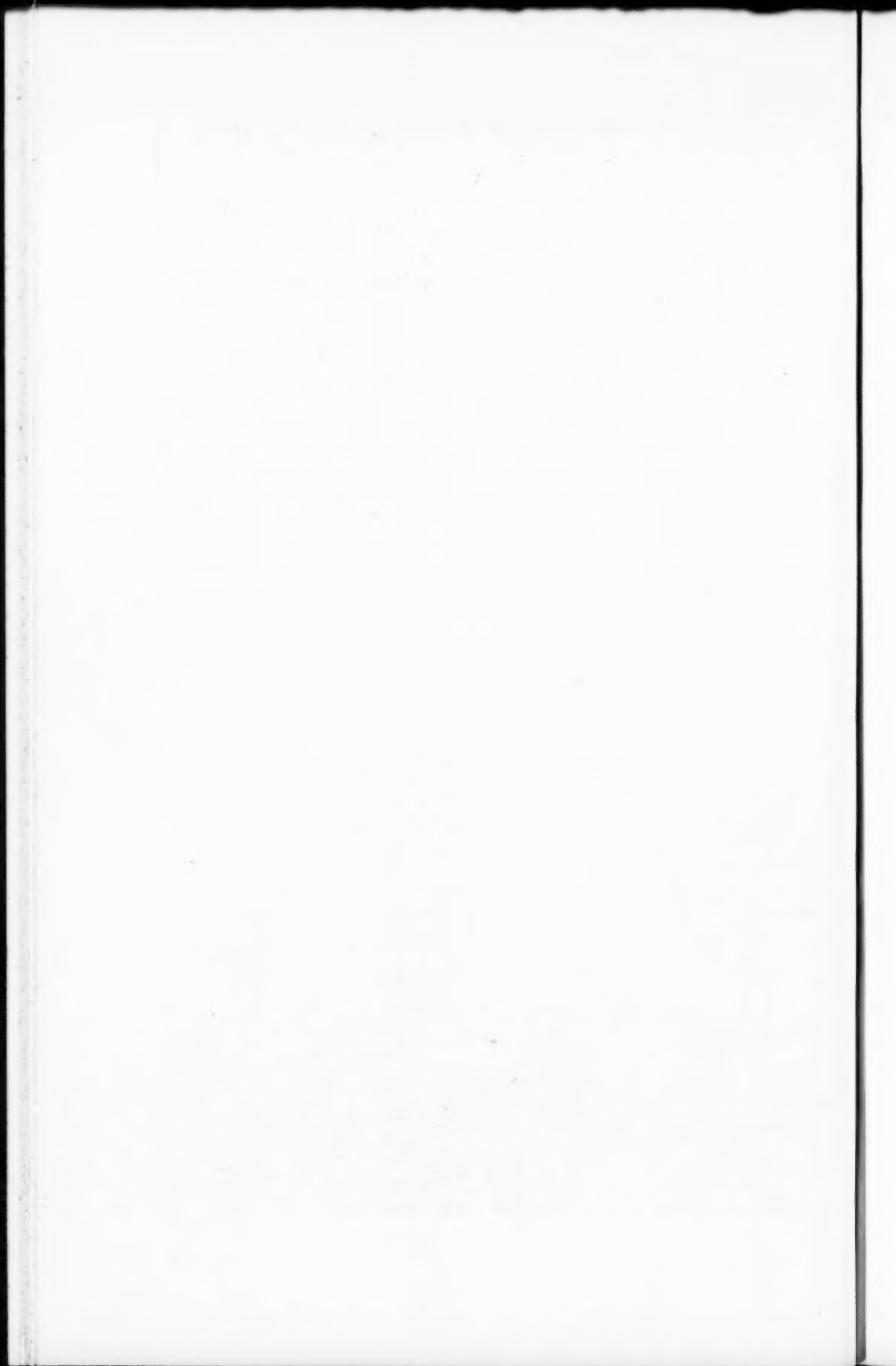
The words, "Designed & Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash," can be read at the middle left; "Engraved by P. E. Hamm," at the middle right; the place and date, "Phillips Decr 14th 1826," at the lower left; the signature, "Philander Chase," at the lower right.

The words, "Designed & Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash," can be read at the middle left; "Engraved by P. E. Hamm," at the middle right; the place and date, "Philadelphia Decr 14th 1826," at the lower left; the signature, "Phileas Chase," at the lower right.

OLD KENYON



OLD KENYON
From a photograph of 1875



PHILANDER CHASE, NORMAN NASH,
AND CHARLES BULFINCH

A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF OLD KENYON*

By Richard G. Salomon**

Old Kenyon, the oldest of the dormitory halls on the campus of Kenyon College at Gambier, Ohio, has a specific position in the history of American architecture. Built in 1827-1829, completed in its present form in 1834-1836, it represents the first attempt in collegiate gothic in this country.¹

Bishop Philander Chase (December 14, 1775-September 20, 1852), the founder of the college, is also the father of Old Kenyon. It has been told many times how he developed the plans for the institution, how he acquired and cleared the grounds on the hill in the middle of Ohio, how he laid the cornerstone of the building and directed the work from its beginning to a provisional completion.

*I am indebted for valuable and suggestive information to Mr. Guy Study, F. A. I. A., of St. Louis; to Professor Frank Roos, of Ohio State University; to Dean S. R. McGowan, of Kenyon College; to the Rev. Dr. Norman B. Nash, Concord, New Hampshire; to the Rev. A. E. Du Plan, Port Huron, Michigan, and to the Rev. V. A. Weaver and the vestry of St. Mark's Church, Lewistown, Pennsylvania.

A visit to the rich collections of the Church Historical Society in Philadelphia, where I was privileged to have the advice of the Rev. Dr. George W. Lamb, librarian, and Mr. William Ives Rutter, Jr., secretary, brought many valuable results.

Miss Eleanor M. Hickin, librarian of Kenyon College, was helpful far beyond the limits of her duty. The Houghton Mifflin Company in Boston, and the rector, churchwardens and vestry of St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, in Philadelphia, kindly allowed me to make use of passages and picture in books of which they own the copyright.

**Dr. Salomon is professor of ecclesiastical history in Bexley Hall, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.—*Editor's note.*

¹Mary G. Stallworth, *The Development of Secular Gothic Architecture in the United States* (master's dissertation, department of art, University of Chicago, 1925); Agnes Addison, "Early American Gothic," in George Boas (ed.), *Romanticism in America* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 135.

The Dorsey house in Philadelphia and the old state house in Milledgeville, Georgia, both of them older than Old Kenyon, were used for educational institutes, but not intended for that purpose when built.—Addison, *ibid.*, l. c., p. 133f.

A. Granger, in *The American Architect*, Vol. CXXXII (1927), p. 777, mentions Old Kenyon as "probably the first example of what we now proudly call American Architecture."

How much he personally contributed to the purely architectural ideas of the building is still a problem. Many-sided as he was, self-trained in many kinds of activity as his pioneer life required, leading and commanding wherever he worked, he certainly impressed the stamp of his mind on the form of the building. But he did not work single-handed. He consulted the best architects;² he emphasized that "in delineating the plan of this edifice no time nor pains were spared in causing it to combine every convenience which economy could justify."³

When he started his conferences with architects, he must have had some ideas and wishes about the style and form of his building. The plan of Old Kenyon was worked out at the time when the gothic revival, coming from England, began to influence American Church architecture. The first tentative steps in that direction had already been made, touching in their simplicity and naivety yet not deserving the spiteful condemnation which an accomplished master in the renewed style chose to pronounce on them a hundred years later.⁴

It is not necessary in this connection to re-tell the whole story of the gothic revival in America. At present it is a favorite subject of special studies,⁵ and well known in its detail from the time of Thomas Jefferson's toying with the idea of "a small gothic temple," and Latrobe's Crammond House in Philadelphia, to Upjohn's first works.

It is more important for our purpose to state that the idea of gothic architecture, being the Christian style *par excellence*, which idea, for better or for worse, triumphed in the ages of Richard Upjohn and Ralph Adams Cram, began to interest the circles of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the early 1820's. An isolated example was already in existence: the second Trinity Church in New York City, built as early as 1788.⁶ Soon after 1820 the revived style made conquests in various dioceses almost simultaneously: St. Paul's in Buffalo, consecrated in 1819; St. Stephen's in Philadelphia, finished in 1822; Christ Church in Louisville, built in 1823-1824; and St. Luke's Church, Rochester, New York, planned in 1823 and completed in 1825. These are claimed

²Philander Chase, *Defence Against G. M. West* (1831), p. 27.

³From Chase's "Cornerstone Address," in his *Reminiscences*, Vol. I, second edition (1848), p. 517.

⁴Ralph Adams Cram, *The Gothic Quest* (New York, 1907), p. 146.

⁵Agnes Addison, *Romanticism and the Gothic Revival* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938); E. M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939). See the bibliographies in both of the above. Frank J. Roos, *Writings on Early American Architecture* (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1943).

⁶See the picture in Morgan Dix, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, Vol. II, opp. p. 138.

to be among the first, if not the very first, Episcopal churches which adopted in a modest way the gothic style. It is not known whether the admiration which they aroused⁷ was due to this new peculiarity or to other qualities. The early settlers were easily satisfied.

Not too far from Ohio, in Pittsburgh, a true romanticist, John Henry Hopkins, then rector of Trinity Church, later on famous not only as one of the leading bishops but as poet, painter, musician, and writer, was wrestling with the problems of the new gothic style in his own way. Though he did not claim to be more than an amateur, he was more thorough and scholarly in a way than his brethren. The old Trinity Church at Pittsburgh, which he designed in 1825, was, of course, not a purely gothic building, but it shows an honest attempt to apply gothic elements.⁸ Hopkins continued his studies in this field and the book of gothic architecture which he wrote ten years later, did a good deal to popularize the "Christian style."

It is not known whether Philander Chase ever took notice of the work of his neighbors before he went to England in 1823; but he fell in love with the great gothic architecture of the old country at once. In the first days after his arrival in England he saw the cathedral of Manchester, and wrote: "It is built after the Gothic style, and of all things I have ever beheld it has the most solemn effect."⁹ Some months later he reported on the minster at Beverly as "a noble structure of Gothic taste"; and about St. Mary's, also at Beverly, as "an exquisitely fine specimen of ancient Gothic taste."¹⁰ With similar words of praise,

⁷Christ Church was considered a "marvel of architecture for Louisville" (James Craik, *Historical Sketches of Christ Church, Louisville, Kentucky*, 1862, p. 103). Its main gothic feature seems to have been the pulpit, "a gorgeous structure of carved wood and crimson velvet."

St. Luke's at Rochester was "an object of admiration in this new country" (R. B. Claxton, *Parish Memories of Forty Years*, Rochester, New York, 1860, p. 11).

For St. Paul's, Buffalo, see the account of the consecration in Dix, *op. cit.*, III, p. 222; *cf.*, p. 180.

⁸A picture of it is in John Henry Hopkins, *Essay on Gothic Architecture* (Burlington, Vermont, 1836); another one is in John Scarborough, *Farewell Service* (Trinity Church, Pittsburgh), October 3, 1869. From this rare pamphlet (a copy of which is in the General Theological Seminary Library, New York) the farewell verses which Hopkins wrote when he left that parish in 1831 might be repeated here. They show the early gothicists in too characteristic a light to be ignored:

"Farewell, ye pinnacled and buttressed towers,
Ye Gothic lights and arch-crowned pillars high,
Fruits of a zealous heart, though humble powers,
We cannot leave you now without a sigh."

⁹Chase, *Letter to Mrs. Chase*, dated Manchester, Nov. 5, 1823 (the original in Church Historical Society, Philadelphia); *Reminiscences*, I, second ed., p. 218.

¹⁰Chase's *Letter*, Feb. 21, 1834 (original in *ibid.*).

he mentioned Temple Church in his London diary,¹¹ in which he otherwise made hardly any observations in the field of art.

Chase's impressions in England were in harmony with the growing trend within the Church. Combined with each other, these influences produced the idea of imitating, for the first time in America, the English type of gothic college buildings.¹² In later years he spoke of "the semi-Gothic style [of Old Kenyon] as most suitable for an Episcopal Seminary or College," and accused his adversaries on the Hill of having abandoned the gothic plan for another type of college building, "as that savored [to them] too much of Episcopacy."¹³ This was written in 1844 and gives no guarantee that Chase had accepted, twenty years before, the theory of a specific inner relation between churchmanship and gothic architecture; but in any event, the first elevation of Old Kenyon, made in 1826,¹⁴ shows the tendency to create something in this style. The word "semi-Gothic" characterizes the building quite well. The understanding of real gothic had not progressed very far in the 1820's. A pointed arch would suffice, in general, to stamp a building as "gothic."

The question, "Who made this elevation," has been answered in different ways, as will be seen in the following pages. Surprisingly enough, all students of this question overlooked one important source: the signature of this first elevation. It was a question coming from outside of Kenyon that became the starting point of the present study. In April, 1944, Mr. Guy Study, F. A. I. A., an architect in St. Louis and the author of the excellent *History of St. Paul's Church, Alton, Illinois*,¹⁵ asked the present writer about the meaning of the signature:

"Designed & Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash,"

which appears on this oldest picture of Old Kenyon. I could do nothing but state that this name was absolutely strange to the literature on the history of Kenyon, and then try to find the answer. Here it is.

¹¹The original manuscript, a small octavo pocket book, is now in the possession of Kenyon College Library, given by Bishop Chase's descendants.

¹²It is not evident on what Miss Clara Marie Eagle, *An Investigation of Knox County Architecture* (thesis, Ohio State University, 1939), based her statement that Christ Church College, Oxford, was the prototype for Old Kenyon. The similarity is very slight.

¹³*Reminiscences*, Vol. II (first edition), p. 781f. Not repeated in the second edition.

¹⁴See Plate I, frontispiece of this article.

¹⁵Published in St. Louis, 1943.

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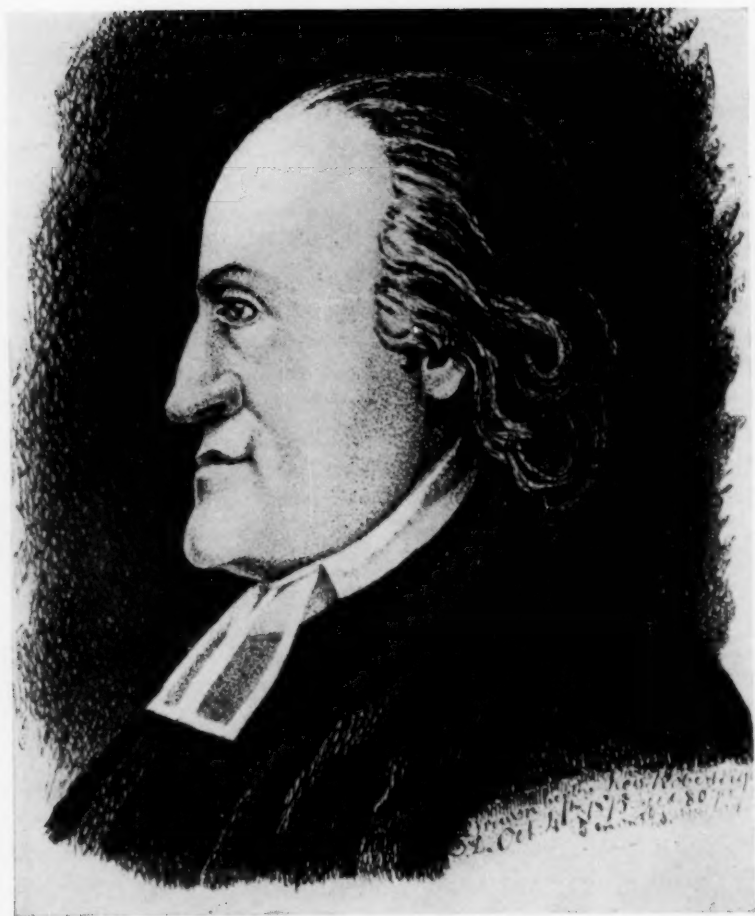


Plate 3

Drawn by Robert Figgot

THE REVEREND NORMAN NASH
November 17, 1790-November 11, 1870

[Reproduced from F. S. Edmonds, *History of St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, Philadelphia* (1925), by courtesy of the Rector, Churchwardens and Vestry of that parish. See Below, Footnote No. 23.]

THE REVEREND NORMAN NASH

NOVEMBER 17, 1790—NOVEMBER 11, 1870

My studies were rewarded by my becoming acquainted with an unusual character in the early history of the Episcopal Church. His life story is interesting enough to be told here at some length.

Like Philander Chase, Norman Nash¹⁶ came from New England stock. He was born in Ellington, Connecticut, on November 17, 1790, as the youngest son of Ebenezer and Susannah Nash, distant relatives of the famous Father Nash (Daniel Nash), who was such an outstanding pioneer in the planting of the Church in upstate New York.

Norman Nash does not seem to have had much of a regular education. Later in life, when asked where he acquired his knowledge, he would answer: "In the chimney corner, by the fire light, when I could not afford to buy candles." He was early interested in mechanics. A friend reports that at the age of eighteen Nash published a "work for young mechanics," which, unfortunately, has not yet been found in any library. Also, he studied medicine for some time at Springfield, Massachusetts; at least enough to enable him to work as a practitioner in later life. He was already about thirty years old when he started to attend prayer meetings in Philadelphia. Under the guidance of the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, rector of St. Paul's Church in that city, he experienced conversion from indifference to serious belief, which was so typical of his generation.

He received something of a "religious education" in Clinton College, New York. How far he went in theological studies is hard to say. Theoretically, postulants were required in those days, before the foundation of theological seminaries, to read under the direction of a trustworthy clergyman; but this was not always the case. An anecdote from Nash's life, told among his friends, seems to indicate that his entry into the ministry was irregular. He started as a lay reader, with a license

¹⁶Sylvester Nash, *The Nash Family* (Hartford, 1853), p. 80, No. 410. F. S. Edmonds, *History of St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1925), pp. 47-52. Norman Nash, *A Letter to the Executive Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, William Staveland, 1827), pp. 8. (copy in the library of the General Theological Seminary, New York). William L. Jenks, *St. Clair County, Michigan: Its History and Its People* (Chicago, 1912), Vol. I, pp. 338f, 400f. *Historical Collections: Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, Vol. XXIX (Lansing, 1901), pp. 182f, 189. *Port Huron Weekly Times*, November 18, 1870 (obituary).

Journals of diocesan conventions: Virginia, 1820-1822 (esp. 1822, p. 21); *Pennsylvania, 1823-1830* (esp. 1823, pp. 10, 20, 29; 1824, pp. 27, 34; 1825, pp. 12, 35; 1826 special convention, pp. 5, 10, 34; 1828, pp. 5, 15, 52; 1830, p. 11); *New Jersey, 1830-1862* (esp. 1830, p. 12; 1833, p. 13; 1834, p. 19), and 1871, p. 122.

Also, the lists in *The Churchman's Almanac, 1830-1871*.

from Bishop Richard Channing Moore, of Virginia; but the bishop found him trespassing the limits of his readership by adding of his own to the sermons which he was permitted to read, and made it understood that he could not preach without "a course of studies" and ordination. "Bishop," replied Nash, "I feel it my duty to engage in this work. If, while I am pursuing my studies, I should be called away, and the Lord should say to me: 'Norman Nash, did I not call you to preach my Gospel?', and I should answer, 'Yes, Lord,' and He should ask, 'Why have you not done it?', and I should answer, 'My Bishop has prescribed a certain course of studies before I may proceed on the work Thou hast assigned me,'—what then?" Bishop Moore was gracious. The tradition exaggerates a little perhaps when it makes him answer to Nash's blunt question: "Brother Nash, I will ordain you"; but, at any rate, he ordained Nash deacon on April 2, 1820.¹⁷

For two years Nash remained in missionary work in the diocese of Virginia, and established "two respectable churches" in Hampshire County. In 1822 he returned to Philadelphia and became canonically connected with the diocese of Pennsylvania. He joined the evangelical group, which centered around Pilmore's successor, the Rev. Benjamin Allen, one of Philander Chase's friends.¹⁸ In this circle of younger clergy, his intellectual versatility and his capacity for fluent speaking, combined with his maturity in years, gave him a respected position. They listened to him "like docile pupils to a learned professor." In his clerical service his main interest was in missionary work. Being somewhat restless by nature, he liked to do the groundwork in establishing new communities and let others carry on. He would not engage, as he told one of his friends with slight exaggeration, to stay in any place ten days. So his life in the following years was checkered enough.

First, he put himself at the disposal of Allen's "Female Protestant Episcopal Organization of Penn Township," in order to found a community mission church in North West Philadelphia. Thus he became the founder of St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, "minister and superintendent of the building" of what is now the center of an urban congregation, at Girard Avenue and 18th Street. The cornerstone of the first building, laid on October 17, 1822, and dug out when the second church was built in 1864, included a note with Nash's name and a book of Scripture references compiled by him.

In 1823 Nash went further west, in the service of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania, and visited vacant congregations on the Juniata River in Huntingdon, Mifflin, and Juniata

¹⁷George Burgess, *List of Persons admitted to the Order of Deacons* (Boston, 1875), p. 11.

¹⁸Thomas G. Allen, *Memoir of the Rev. Benjamin Allen* (Philadelphia, 1832). See especially p. 299.

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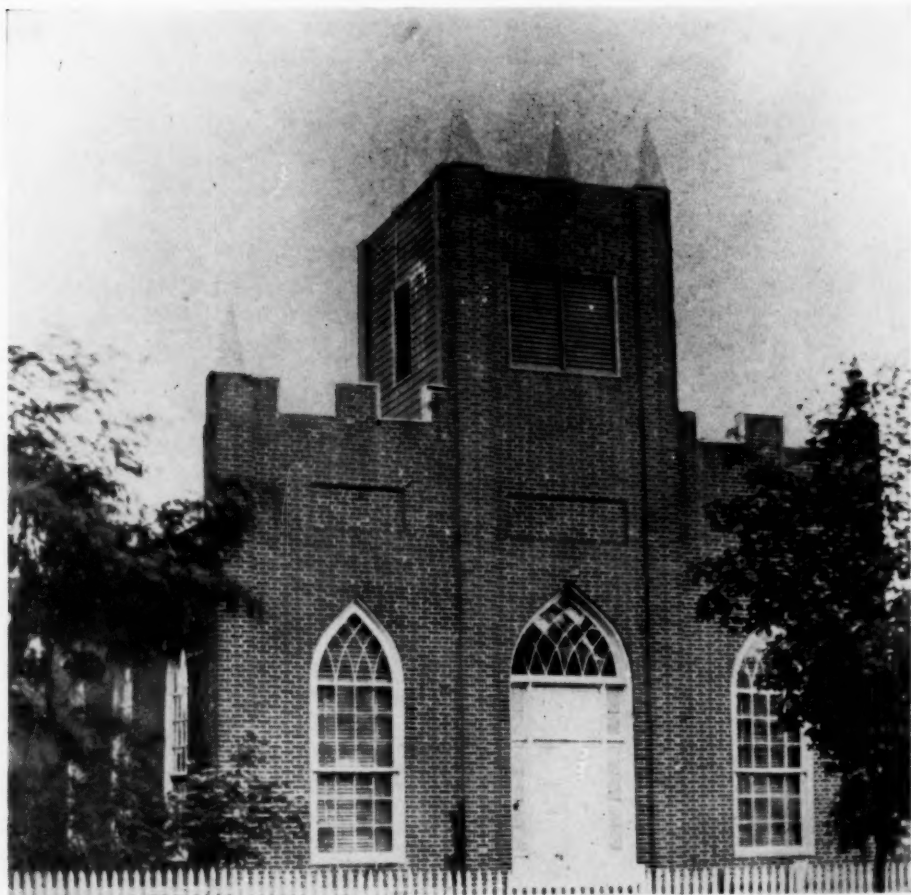


Plate 4

**ST. MARK'S CHURCH
LEWISTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA**

Built in 1823 by Norman Nash; the front was rebuilt in 1869

[From a photograph, dated 1869, reproduced by the courtesy of the Rev. V. A. Weaver, Rector, and the Vestry of the parish.]

Counties. A year later he reported on the construction of churches for the congregations of St. John's at Huntingdon and of St. Mark's at Lewiston. The latter, for which the cornerstone was laid on August 26, 1823, he describes as "an elegant brick building in the Gothic style." This building, one of the earliest examples of gothic church architecture in America, or of what in the 1820's was understood by that name, is no longer in existence. An enlargement made about 1870 caused a considerable change in the outer aspect.¹⁹ In 1890 it was replaced by a more modern building.

Before St. Mark's was consecrated in October, 1824, Nash, restless as always, had already left his congregation and signed up with the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, which had been finally organized three years before. Nash was one of the very first missionaries of the Society, and his assignment promised a real missionary adventure. He was appointed superintendent of the mission to the Oneida Indians at Green Bay, Wisconsin, then part of Michigan Territory, to which the Oneidas had recently been moved from New York State. He did not leave Philadelphia for his new station until the early summer of 1825. In the meantime, he had been ordained priest a few days before Christmas, 1824, by Bishop White; and, in the company of the Rev. James Montgomery of the executive committee of the Society, he had visited the secretary of war in Washington in order to gain his interest in Indian affairs. Nothing came of this at the time, but in 1828 the government granted \$1,000 for three years, and \$1,500 a year after, for educational work at Green Bay; but at the end of three years the board gave up the grant on the principle that "in no way is our Mission identified with the Government of the country."

The history of Nash's mission in Wisconsin is short and unpleasant. He arrived in August, 1825, and took possession of a vacant house in a poor state. "As he possessed a considerable knowledge of practical mechanics," he undertook the repair work himself and was accused of neglecting his spiritual duties in favor of technical hobbies. A member of his little staff, Albert G. Ellis, a teacher of whose appointment Nash did not approve, relates that Nash "occupied himself with his studies and sundry amusements, portrait painting and boat building."²⁰ Nash felt himself neglected by the Society. His letters and inquiries remained unanswered. After less than a year he left his post and returned to

¹⁹Fortunately an old picture has survived which gives at least an approximate idea of how Nash's original building looked (see Plate 4). It is a photograph, now in the possession of the parish, taken in 1869, immediately after the enlargement was finished. The front is new (see the anonymous *History of That Part of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys Embraced in the Counties of Mifflin, etc.*, Vol. I, Philadelphia, 1866, p. 522), and there is no saying how far it copied the old one; but the side wall, partly visible under the tree to the left, is an unchanged remainder of Nash's original work.

Philadelphia, where he arrived at the end of June, 1826, evidently in order to clear the situation.

For almost a year he was in painful struggle with his employers. The atmosphere in Philadelphia was tense anyway, with a fierce controversy going on over the election of an assistant bishop for the aged Bishop White. Bitter strife between the parties revolved around the two candidates, William Meade, of Virginia, and Bird Wilson, of Philadelphia. Nash, an outspoken evangelical, did a good deal of electioneering for Meade, and by this embittered even more his critics on the board of missions.

A trip in the East, which he undertook for the Society in 1827 for the purpose of collecting money, ended with costs higher than results. The Society spoke of misplaced confidence, and uttered doubts about Nash's capacity and fidelity; they accused him of insatiable demands for money, of putting his ecclesiastical party interests over his missionary duties; and even threatened to present him for trial for what, in those times, really seems to have been a misdeemeanor on the part of a clergyman: "for putting up at a public, instead of a private, boarding house."

After long bickering in this style, the board of directors in May, 1827, passed a resolution: "That the Rev. Mr. Nash be employed by the Executive Committee in any other missionary operation for which they may think him adapted." Nash, deeply hurt by this indirect condemnation of his work at Green Bay, now took refuge in publicity and wrote his only known printed work, a pamphlet of eight pages: *A Letter to the Executive Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church*. This letter is quite in style: it is as irritated in tone and as verbose as the hundreds of clerical pamphlets of that period, which are now stored and rarely read in seminary libraries; "uncharitable, presuming and defamatory," as his opponents called it. Nash told his version of the story, complained about the practices of the Society, about insufficient financial equipment, and about the attempts to send him on a fool's errand and to intimidate him. He ended with the statement that, since the Green Bay project had been declared impracticable, his engagement with the Society terminated, of course. This declaration is dated May 23, 1827.²¹

²⁰A. G. Ellis, "Recollections," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIV, pp. 450f.

²¹The sources for the story as told here are Nash's pamphlet, and, for the presentation of the affair from the other side, in the *Proceedings of the Missionary Society of October, 1827*: the report about a special meeting, which was almost exclusively concerned with the Green Bay Mission. This issue of the *Proceedings* is the answer to Nash's pamphlet and is equally partisan. The *Proceedings* of a previous meeting, held in May, 1827, in which the Nash affair was amply discussed, remained unprinted.

Nash found an appointment as rector of St. Luke's Church, Pottsville, Pennsylvania, this same year, but gave it up in October following. For the next few years he is listed as "residing in Philadelphia," evidently without a cure. In 1830 he transferred to the diocese of New Jersey and became rector of Trinity Church, Swedesboro. This appointment lasted for the comparatively long period of four years, and then ended as unpleasantly as his relations with the Missionary Society. In 1834 he was entangled in a conflict with his vestry, the subject of which is not mentioned in our sources. It was, however, grave enough to necessitate the intervention of the bishop, George Washington Doane.

On March 19th, in accordance with canon 34 of the General Convention, the bishop convoked a council of the clergy, which, "after a full and patient investigation of the subject, was unanimous that the controversy had 'proceeded such lengths as to preclude all hopes of its favorable termination, and that a dissolution of the connexion which existed between them, was indispensably necessary to ensure the peace and promote the prosperity of the Church.'"²² Nash agreed to the termination of his appointment by June 20th, "in presence of the Council," but he nevertheless left with a grudge, "deeming himself most unjustly and tyrannically persecuted by the Bishop of New Jersey."

By this time Nash was in his forty-fourth year. For the remainder of his long life he never held a cure. Without severing his canonical connection with the diocese of New Jersey, he virtually retired into private life. His name was carried on the clergy lists of the diocese until 1860, invariably without indication of a cure or an address. In 1861 the censorious remark, "absent without leave," was added, and repeated in 1862; then the name was dropped.

Meanwhile, Nash had started a new life. In 1836 he settled for good, again far out in what was still half a wilderness, at Port Huron, Michigan. Somehow he had secured a Presidential appointment as teacher and missionary under the Indian agent of the district, with a salary of \$400 per year, which, however, he never received. He seems to have done some teaching among the Indians, but soon after his arrival they were removed. Yet Nash remained in his place, and became a popular figure among the pioneer settlers. Although he had no canonical connection with the diocese of Michigan, he held free religious services occasionally; preached at Clyde Mills, Fort Gratiot, and other places in the neighborhood; and officiated at weddings and funerals from Lake St. Clair to the farthest settlement on Lake Huron.

Nash made a living by running a ferry over the St. Clair River,

²²G. W. Doane, "Episcopal Address," in *Journal of the Diocese of New Jersey*, 1834, p. 19. Canon 34 of the General Convention of 1832 was repealed in 1859, restored in 1871 after many changes, and since 1943 has been numbered canon 45.

between Port Huron and Sarnia on the Canadian side, for which he practically held a monopoly, together with one Nicholas Ayrault, granted by an act of the Michigan state legislature in March, 1837. He also made use of his knowledge of medicine, and since there was no regular physician in the place, he was often called on for help by the settlers, to whom he became "Dr. Nash" rather than "Rev. Sir."

He built himself a little house, a "diminutive castle" with a tower (perhaps in reminiscence of his "gothic" days in Lewistown) in the midst of woods, where now is downtown Port Huron. There he lived for about thirty years as a serene and contented old bachelor, among rarely cleaned-away heaps of dust, always busy with reading, chemical experiments, tinkering with gadgets, and playing his old bass viol. It would be interesting to know whether young Thomas Alva Edison, who lived at Port Huron in Nash's later years, ever found his way into the den of the old experimenter. Young people looked up with rather weird feelings to the mysterious old man with the long locks clustering about his neck, and with the old-fashioned long frock coat.²³

Enjoying the universal respect of his fellow citizens, Nash died on November 11, 1870. The local paper published an obituary in the delightfully flowery style of the time: "The old ship, which has withstood the storms of eighty winters, has succumbed."

The local rector, the Rev. William Stowe, reported Nash's death to Bishop Odenheimer of New Jersey. So Nash's name shows up once more in the journals of the diocese from which he had been "absent without leave" so incomparably long: the bishop in his address to the convention of 1871 mentioned Nash's death.

Whether all the data given in his obituaries are correct or not, and though it may be doubtful that he was in some sort a universal genius, as an old friend called him after his death, he certainly was a many-sided man. He was capable in almost any kind of handicraft in a pioneerish way: he made optical instruments, artificial teeth, and im-

²³The portrait of Norman Nash (see Plate 3) was drawn, according to the inscription, "by the Rev. Robert Piggot, D. D., October 4, 1875; aged 80 years, 5 months." This was five years after Nash's death, and Piggot worked from memory, after not having seen Nash for many years. The picture, however, agrees well with the description of Nash's exterior as given in Jenks' *History of St. Clair County*, on which the text above has drawn.

ROBERT PIGGOT (May 20, 1795-July 23, 1887) was a stipple engraver before he entered the ministry. After an apprenticeship with David Edwin of Philadelphia, he formed a partnership with his fellow student, Charles Goodman, and their works were signed Goodman & Piggot. Piggot was ordained deacon November 30, 1823, and priest, May 11, 1825, both ordinations being by Bishop White. He succeeded Nash at St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, and at Lewistown, and had been in close touch with Nash during the latter's years in Philadelphia. [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIV, p. 592; D. M. Stauffer, *American Engravers*, I, p. 217; and the list of works, *ibid.*, Vol. II, Nos. 2542-2544.]

provements in steam engines. He is also said to have invented an alphabet, with a character for every sound in the English language, and another alphabet for Indians, which allegedly was used in some printed books.

Tradition in the Nash family has it that "he was responsible for building a number of churches in Michigan." A lifelong interest in architecture would fit in very well with his early liking for the upcoming gothic manner, and with that little romantic addition of the tower to his modest home in Port Huron. It is possible that his advice was sought in the construction of the first building of Grace Church, Port Huron,—a "very neat Gothic building, with open roof," as the rector called it in 1854.²⁴ But in the 1850's the preference for the gothic style was already so general that, even without his advice, the vestry would probably have decided on a building in that style.

This was the man who, by a mere chance, became instrumental in the creation of Old Kenyon.

CHASE AND NASH

Philander Chase and Norman Nash met for the first time when Chase came to Philadelphia in the beginning of November, 1826, and stayed there for about two months. It was the time of Nash's fight with the Missionary Society. Chase had just bought the land for the college on the hill, near Mount Vernon, Ohio, and was beginning to ponder on the plans for the building.

It was a godsend to him that, just at this moment, he came across a man who had already tried his hand at gothic architecture. Chase lived in Philadelphia in Benjamin Allen's house, where Nash was an intimate friend. The bishop evidently had no difficulty in interesting Nash in his plans and putting him to work, for, after a few weeks, about the middle of December, 1826, the first elevation of the planned college building,²⁵ with Nash's name on it, was already being printed. If we discount the time needed by the engraver for the plate work, at least two weeks, it is certain that the drawing was made some time in November, 1826.²⁶

The first engraving, then, represents Old Kenyon as its founder

²⁴*Journal of the diocese of Michigan*, 1854, p. 60.

²⁵See frontispiece to this article, Plate 1.

²⁶The dedication on the first picture has the date December 14, 1826. On December 19, Chase sent the first unfinished copy still without the inscription, to Lord Kenyon (See below, Appendix I). Before the end of the year, the whole issue, with inscriptions, was ready for shipment (*Chase to Lord Kenyon*, January 3, 1827; Kenyon College Library, Chase-Kenyon Letter Book). December 14th is the day on which Chase drafted the dedication, not the day on which the design was ready.

expected it to look when finished. It is easily seen by the comparison of Nash's drawing (Plate 1, *frontispiece*) and the photograph of the building (Plate 2, opp. *frontispiece*) that the original plan underwent considerable change, as it had to, under the impact of practical requirements. Neither Chase nor Nash was a trained architect. They started with the facade, without giving much thought to what was to be behind it. It would be too much to expect functional concepts of architecture from gentlemen-architects of the 1820's. It is rather astonishing how much of the original plan became reality when the work was carried out. The middle part was built approximately as originally planned but for the addition of windows over the three doors. The two huge wings which were to give the building the form of an H, fortunately never materialized. Instead, the short wings, protruding only a little beyond the middle front, were added in the 1830's, after Chase had left Gambier. But the old first drawing outlasted these changes as the popular picture of Kenyon. It was copied and published time and again, both in America and abroad, until about 1850.²⁷

The plan as shown in this picture is the product of cooperation between Chase and Nash. It is not possible to measure the share of either one exactly. The inscription, "Designed & Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash," seems, offhand, to claim the whole as Nash's work. A trifling detail, however, found in Chase's letters, prove that he was not originally willing to allow Nash that much credit. On December 19, 1826, the bishop sent Lord Kenyon the first copy of the picture on which the lettering was still missing. He accompanied it by a letter in which he gave the wording of the planned dedication exactly as it is found in the printed copies:

"This view of Kenyon College, Ohio, is most affectionately inscribed to the Benefactors thereof both in England and America by their most grateful and faithful Friend Philander Chase, 14th December A. D., 1826,"

but under this date it reads only:

"Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash."²⁸

This clearly intends to put Nash into the position of a mere technician, a draftsman. On closer inspection, however, it appears that Chase started writing "Designed . . .," and then blotted this word out, re-

²⁷The college library of Kenyon has a full collection of these pictures. The typewritten catalogue of this collection might well be published some time.

²⁸The original letter and the accompanying unfinished copy of the picture are now in the possession of Kenyon College Library (Chase Letter Book). See the full text of the letter in Appendix I, below.

placing it by "Drawn." This shows that he himself, at least, had some doubts about the distribution of credits. In the final printed form the words, "Designed & Drawn," are re-established. There is no indication in the sources as to whether this was the result of a discussion between the two men, whether Nash ever heard about the bishop's first intention and insisted on his rights, or whether Chase raised and settled these scruples for himself.

We have no other testimonial about the origins of this first plan of Old Kenyon. It stands to reason that Nash, when he designed the building, had to consider the ideas of his employer, as every architect has to do, and there is no saying how far he reproduced or changed them. It is true that Chase in all his writings, his letters as well as his *Reminiscences*, never mentioned Nash's participation in the work,²⁹ but he added a copy of the picture with Nash's name on it to each copy of the second edition of the *Reminiscences*, and this suffices as a proof that he acknowledged Nash's claim to an essential part in the work. An additional proof of this is the fact that Chase never claimed to be the author himself. When in 1830 the board of trustees celebrated him as an "architect," he could accept that compliment as a reward for his having directed the construction work from the laying of the cornerstone to the finishing of the roof.

Nash's work for Old Kenyon began and ended with his making this first drawing. He had no share in working out the detail of the plan or in making the working drawings. Personally, he remained in contact with the bishop for some time more. During his stay in Allen's house, Chase became sick and developed a tumor on the hip, which Nash, in his capacity as a lay physician, cured with a "diadrink of roots"³⁰—poor bishop! Probably at the same time, Nash sold to the bishop about one hundred dollars worth of "philosophical apparatus," i. e., scientific instruments which helped to form the basis for the laboratories of Kenyon College.³¹ In 1828 or 1829 he sent one of his nephews to Gambier and sustained him in the preparatory school.³²

²⁹The name was perhaps mentioned in the papers which were enclosed in the cornerstone of Old Kenyon; but the list of articles deposited there (Kenyon College Library, Chase Papers 270609) gives no clear indication. In his *Reminiscences*, Vol I, 2nd edition, p. 516, Chase only states that "the engraving of this building had been taken at the East," without mention of either designer or engraver.

³⁰Philander Chase, Letters to his wife, Philadelphia, January 1 and 6, 1827 (K. C. L., Chase Papers 27010b and 270106). "Diadrink" is an old-fashioned word for medicine.

³¹*Journal of the diocese of Ohio*, 1828, p. 29.

³²This was Norman Badger, later on head of the preparatory department of the college at Milnor Hall; in 1848, proprietor and publisher of the *Western Episcopalian*. [See S. Nash, *The Nash Family* (Hartford, 1853), p. 144.] Some years later, 1837, one Rodolphus Nash appeared in the student list of Kenyon College, coming from Ellington, Connecticut, Norman Nash's birthplace, certainly a relative of his. There is no proof that Norman Nash caused him to go to Gambier, but it is possible.

It seems likely that Chase and Nash understood one another pretty well. There is a certain similarity in the two men: both of them were of the pioneer and missionary type, interested and competent in many fields of human activity, fond of technical work, of "doing things" with their hands, of venturing on experiments, and not afraid of conflicts. What they drafted together, though certainly no masterpiece, is solid and respectable. Recently a well known American architect wrote: "Old Kenyon looks like Bishop Chase, like a he-man all right." A comparison, however, between the row of windows in the front of Old Kenyon and those on the side wall of St. Mark's Church, Lewistown (*compare* Plate 1, frontispiece, and Plate 4), seems to prove that there is something of Norman Nash in the looks of Old Kenyon.

Bishop Chase was highly pleased with the plan. He expected it to afford more convenience than any other building he ever saw, and, if carried into complete effect, to earn more admiration than any other building in the United States.⁸³ Criticism was not welcome. When William Sparrow, Chase's brother-in-law, and then still on the best of terms with him, ventured to remark that the building should be less compact, and that the planned two wings might be cut off from the body and placed apart—a suggestion which was meant to eliminate some very evident weaknesses of the plan—the bishop "took offence" at the mere idea.⁸⁴

There is no evidence as to how he felt about the building after it had been finished in its present form, abandoning the original plan. After he left Gambier he became a severe critic of everything that was done in Kenyon. It stands to reason that he was hardly less bitter about the change in this plan, which he thought so perfect, than he was about the replacement of his "gothic" plans for the college chapel by the "Grecian order," which was adopted by his successors in that work.⁸⁵

THE BULFINCH TRADITION

In contrast to the facts stated thus far, a tradition has survived in Kenyon College which ascribes the construction of Old Kenyon to the great American architect of the early 19th century, Charles Bulfinch (August 8, 1763-April 4, 1844).⁸⁶ This would link up the old college building with other proud monuments of American architecture: the State House and Faneuil Hall in Boston, and with the Capitol in Wash-

⁸³K. C. L., Chase Papers 270802; Chase, *Reminiscences*, II (2nd ed), p. 535.

⁸⁴William Sparrow, *A Reply to the Charges and Accusations of the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase* (Gambier, 1832), p. 19.

⁸⁵G. F. Smythe, *Kenyon College: Its First Century* (New Haven, 1924), p. 316.

⁸⁶For Bulfinch, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. III, pp. 245-247, and additional references which follow below.

ington. The late George F. Smythe, in his history of Old Kenyon, stressed these "distinguished affinities" of our oldest hall, and mentioned "the magnificent design which Charles Bulfinch had contributed" for Kenyon College.³⁷ Smythe certainly was aware of the fact, though he did not mention it, that there is no drawing or sketch of Old Kenyon signed with Bulfinch's name. He evidently took the early engraving, which he reproduced in his book,³⁸ as the copy of a lost original drawing made by Bulfinch. He did not indicate, however, any reason for this assumption.

Outside of Ohio the tradition gained a certain publicity through an article written by a famous modern architect who was in close touch with the college, the late Alfred Granger, who built the college commons, Peirce Hall. In this article Granger went even a step farther: he not only credited Bulfinch with the design for Old Kenyon, but declared it "quite possible that Bishop Chase must (*sic*) have secured the help of Bulfinch in laying out the plan not only of the College park but of the village" of Gambier.³⁹ This hypothesis, however flattering it might be to the civic pride of the town of Gambier, must be discarded, since it is based on nothing but imagination.

The Ohio Guide, published by the Writers' Project in 1940, accepted the tradition, either on Smythe's or Granger's authority. It contains a picture of the building with the caption: "Old Kenyon. Charles Bulfinch, architect."

An undercurrent of mistrust against the tradition, however, made itself felt once in a while. There was the unquestionable fact that the expansive literature on Bulfinch nowhere mentioned Kenyon. In 1935 an attempt was made to clarify the situation. The manuscript material in the college library, especially the rich collection of the Chase Papers, was consulted, and research was carried on in other libraries, but without decisive result. It was probably in consequence of this that an official publication of the college in 1937 toned down the tradition. It accompanied a picture of Old Kenyon with the remark that the impressive design was "suggested" by Charles Bulfinch. Two years later Miss Clara Maria Eagle, in her master's thesis,⁴⁰ for which she had

³⁷Smythe, *op. cit.*, pp. 310, 87.

³⁸Smythe, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 68. This picture, however, is not the oldest one in existence. It is only a very exact copy, made in England in 1827, of the first one which was engraved by P. E. Hamm in Philadelphia in 1826 (*see* Plate 1, frontispiece). This original engraving, listed by D. M. Stauffer, *American Engravers*, II (New York, 1907), p. 211, no. 1259, is rare. Individual copies are in the Kenyon College Library, and in the Library of Congress; others are in the *Christian Remembrancer*, Vol. IX (London, 1827), p. 564.

³⁹Alfred Granger, "An Architectural Oasis," in *The American Architect*, Vol. CXXXII (1927), pp. 771-778.

⁴⁰C. M. Eagle, *An Investigation of Knox County Architecture* (Ohio State University, 1939, machine script).

made studies at Kenyon, stated categorically: "Nothing in the papers of Bulfinch or Chase suggests Bulfinch's authorship," and she was willing to credit Chase alone for the plan.

Thus the Bulfinch tradition seemed to vanish in the fogs of legend. But there was Smythe's word for it, and no reader familiar with his work and aware of his exactness in detail, would easily assume that he accepted mere hearsay as evidence. It was more likely that he had a real source. And, indeed, so it was, and only a most unfortunate coincidence had hindered the recent investigators from finding it.⁴¹ The source was nothing else than Philander Chase's own *Reminiscences*. There in the second volume, page 37, Chase reprinted a letter of his to Lord Gambier, dated June 11, 1829, which contains a long description of the building. Chase describes the thick walls, the roof with its unusual mass of timber, and the steeple. Then he adds:

"The draft was made for me by our national architect, Mr. Bulfinch, of Washington, D. C."⁴²

This looks like the missing link: the bishop himself certifies Bulfinch's authorship.⁴³ Could anything be more authoritative?

On closer consideration, however, this formula, which seemingly solves the problem, creates a new one. How is it possible to account for the contradiction of the two facts: In 1826 the bishop confirmed with his signature the authenticity of a draft which purports to be "Designed & Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash;" three years later, he told Lord Gambier that the great Bulfinch made it? And more than that: in 1848, when he printed the letter for the second time, he directed the reader to a picture with Nash's name on it.

⁴¹In order not to seem secretive about the "coincidence," I shall tell what happened: My predecessors in this research evidently overlooked the fact that the two copies of the *Reminiscences*, which were at the disposal of the readers in the reference room of the college library, were equally defective; unfortunately, just the decisive pages (Vol. II, pp. 35-38) were missing. I had the advantage of working with another copy which is complete, and of seeing the annotated personal copy of Smythe's book, which, though available in the college library, was rarely consulted.

⁴²In the rare first edition of the *Reminiscences* (1844), the letter is on p. 641. The second edition adds the note "(see plate)," meaning the frontispiece of the volume, which is a reproduction of Nash's drawing.

⁴³Philander Chase's son, Dudley Chase (1816-1907), in his unprinted *Memoir of Bishop Philander Chase* (the original manuscript is in the collections of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia; clean copy, with interesting pictures, in Kenyon College Library) also states that the plan "was drawn by the Government Architect in Washington in 1826 and engraved in Philadelphia" (p. 153 in the C. H. S. ms.). This looks like a confirmation of Chase's own statement by an independent witness. Dudley Chase attended as a boy the cornerstone ceremony at Kenyon in 1827, and could have acquired some knowledge of the facts by word of mouth. Closer analysis, however, shows that his narrative in this part of his work, as in many others, is exclusively based on his father's *Reminiscences*. So it cannot be considered as additional evidence.

Mala fides is out of the question: the assumption would under-rate the bishop's character as well as his intelligence. It is likely that some mistake is behind one of the statements. But which?

Philander Chase's *Reminiscences* are largely a compilation of his old correspondence. He had carefully kept the original letters of his friends, the numerous letters which he wrote to his wife on his travels, and many drafts of his letters to other people. This collection is now in Kenyon College Library under the name of the "Chase Papers." A comparison of the printed text with the manuscripts shows that very often he incorporated the original letters into the manuscript of his *Reminiscences*. On many of these letters which he put back into the collection after they had been printed, his directions to the printer are still visible. In some cases, however, the originals were copied—either by himself or by somebody else—for the printer, and on this occasion mistakes crept in here and there, as they are likely to do in such cases.

Among the Chase Papers there is the original draft of the bishop's letter to Lord Gambier, in Chase's own hand—three little sheets of paper, so brittle and damaged that, at some recent time, they had to be mounted on silk for conservation.⁴⁴ It can be proved that these three little sheets belonged to that group which did not go to the printer, but were copied for him.⁴⁵ Now a comparison of the text printed in the *Reminiscences* and that of the original draft, a comparison which apparently was never made before, not even by Chase himself when he read the proofs of his book, had an astonishing result. There is the description of the walls, the roof, and the steeple, in the same words as in the printed text. But, in the manuscript, the last sentences read:

"The steeple is in good proportion, high and beautiful.
The draft of it was made for me by our national architect, Mr.
Bulfinch of the City of Washington."

Here was the solution of the riddle. It was not the draft of the building, but the draft of the spire alone, "of it," that Bulfinch had contributed. Two words, of two letters each, had escaped the attention of the copyist, and this little mishap had created what we now can call the Bulfinch Legend.

Now the situation is clear. The two statements of Bishop Chase are no longer contradictory. The original draft of 1826 is Nash's, and

⁴⁴K. C. L., Chase Papers 290611.

⁴⁵The full text of the passage involved, in a "critical edition," is given below as Appendix II. It will easily be seen from the notes that between the original draft and the text of the *Reminiscences*, there was a copy with some changes in it.

his property; and Bulfinch contributed nothing but a change in the project, though a conspicuous one, as confirmed by a comparison of the shape of the spire as it appears on the Nash drawing (Plate 1) and as it was eventually built (Plate 2). The Nash spire is thick and heavy with its low basis; the Bulfinch spire shows the master's hand in its lofty elegance. The bishop was aware of this when he stressed the "good proportion."

CHASE AND BULFINCH

With this the way is opened for the inevitable question: How, where, and when did it happen that Bulfinch became willing to cooperate in Chase's project? Fortunately, the material is rich enough to make an answer possible.

At first glance it seems surprising that Bulfinch, the staunch classicist, should have had his hand in the construction of a building in the new gothic style. As a matter of fact, he had more than a bowing acquaintance with gothic. It is known that he owned and annotated the epoch-making *Essays on Gothic Architecture*, published in 1800 by Watson, Bentham and others, and that among his works is one early attempt at gothic construction—the former Federal Street Church in Boston, completed in 1809. The contemporaries, as well as later students of Bulfinch's art, treated this attempt "to introduce something new among us"⁴⁶ rather condescendingly. The standard work on Bulfinch acknowledges, however, that at least the tower of this only gothic church that Bulfinch ever built is closer to the gothic type than many others.⁴⁷ The spire of Old Kenyon (Plate 2) appears to bear some resemblance to the older one of the Federal Street Church (Plate 5). The former was Bulfinch's only return to the gothic after 1809.⁴⁸

The question, when and where Chase and Bulfinch met, has been touched on by Smythe. Since Bulfinch was tied down in Washington by his official position as architect of the Capitol and Chase traveled extensively, it was most likely that the meeting happened during one of Chase's visits to the capital. Smythe assumed that the bishop saw the architect there in February, 1826, and that he had the drawing made

⁴⁶Bulfinch's mother, in a letter of July, 1809, in *Bulfinch's Life and Letters*, by his granddaughter, E. S. Bulfinch (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1896), p. 168.

⁴⁷Charles A. Place, *Charles Bulfinch, Architect and Citizen* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1925), pp. 141, 145.

⁴⁸It might be added here that when he was in charge of the Capitol building in Washington, high administration officers, taken in by the new architectural mode, suggested raising the Capitol dome "higher in Gothic form." Bulfinch rejected the ideas as "too inconsistent with the style of the building to be at all thought of by me." See J. M. Howells, in *The American Architect and Building News*, Vol. XLIII (1908), p. 199.



Plate 5

**THE SPIRE OF THE FEDERAL
STREET CHURCH
BOSTON**

**The only Gothic Church that
Charles Bulfinch ever built. It
was completed in 1809.**

[From a photograph at the Bostonian
Society. Reprinted from Charles A.
Place, *Charles Bulfinch, Architect and
Citizen* (Boston, 1925), p. 141, through
the courtesy of the publishers, Hough-
ton Mifflin Company.]



at that time.⁴⁹ We know by now that this was impossible. No drawing was made before November, 1826.

Besides, we are now in possession of very detailed material concerning this stay of Chase in Washington, which Smythe could not know: a series of letters written at short intervals of a few days to his wife with the purpose of giving a "full substitute" for a diary, and of listing every important thing that happened to the writer during his stay.⁵⁰ The letters are indeed abundant in interesting detail: they tell of the writer's intercourse with his old friend, Henry Clay, who acted as his host in Washington; of his meeting Chief Justice Marshall, Daniel Webster, and Albert Gallatin; of a dinner with President John Quincy Adams; but more interesting, at least for this present purpose, is the fact that the name of Bulfinch does not show up in these letters. It is safe to say positively that Chase left Washington in 1826 without having made Bulfinch's acquaintance.

When he returned to Washington two years later, in February, 1828, in order to win the interest of Congress for his petition for a land grant, he enlarged his circle of social acquaintances, certainly not without the idea of currying favor for his project. On this occasion it occurred to him to make use of a family relationship, which had not been considered up to that time. On March 6, 1828, he wrote to his wife from Washington:

"Yesterday I went to see Mrs. Bulfinch the wife of the present most excellent chief architect of the United States. She is the daughter of a Mr. Apthorp who married the own cousin of your mother. She resembles you. She is very lively in conversation, has a number of sons and daughters. She talked with me much of you."⁵¹

This is the first trace. It is clear from the wording of this letter that on this social call the bishop did not meet the master of the house, and had not secured his cooperation. Old Kenyon was under construction since the previous summer, the cornerstone having been laid in June, 1827. The bishop's mind was teeming with ideas about the future of Kenyon. It is impossible to assume that he would not have mentioned to his wife at this moment so important a fact as the cooperation of the first architect of the country, if it had been a fact at that time.

The bishop may have used this new acquaintance with Mrs. Bulfinch to get introduced to Bulfinch himself in the days that followed.

⁴⁹Smythe, *Kenyon College*, p. 310.

⁵⁰K. C. L., Chase Papers 260202ff: photostats from the originals which are in the possession of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia; obtained for Kenyon College Library in 1944.

⁵¹K. C. L., Chase Papers 280306 (here condensed).

It is certain that he met him on March 21st, at an evening party about which Mrs. Bulfinch reported to her son, Thomas, in the following letter of March 22, 1828:

"Last evening we all went by invitation to tea to Judge Cranch's . . . There were plenty of members of Congress, one or two belles, and a Bishop Chase of Ohio . . . He is a noble looking son of the Church, handsome and easy in his manners. He is here to petition Congress to give him a township of land to assist him to establish a college in Ohio. His building is now nearly up, and he is enthusiastic as good men usually are, when engaged in any scheme of what they think great usefulness. He spent an evening here lately, giving us an interesting account of his visit to England. . . .

"We spent our evening at the Judge's in the usual walking about manner; two musical instruments, one in each room. . . ."⁵²

Since Mrs. Bulfinch's formula, "we all," necessarily includes the head of the family, we have here the documentation and the date for a meeting of Chase and Bulfinch. Further, it seems altogether likely that on this evening the construction of Old Kenyon would have been mentioned in Bulfinch's presence. It cannot be stated with certainty that it was on this evening that the bishop showed the Nash drawing to Bulfinch and invited his comment. It might have been some day between the 6th and 21st of March, or even some days or weeks later; but it is certain that Chase, when he left Washington in May, 1828, carried a copy of the Nash draft amended by Bulfinch. The spire was built according to Bulfinch's sketch in 1829.

THE COMPLETION OF OLD KENYON

It was not Bulfinch alone from whom Chase asked for improvements on the original plan. He "consulted the best architects in our cities,"⁵³ but he does not mention their names. The change in the form of the doorheads and the addition of windows above the doors (*compare* Plates 1 and 2) are the most visible results of these consultations. How far the interior of the building was considered in such consultations, is not known.

When Bishop Chase left Gambier and the diocese of Ohio in September, 1831, the middle part of the present building had been ready for two years. The completion had to be postponed for lack of money

⁵²E. S. Bulfinch, *Charles Bulfinch: Life and Letters* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1896), p. 259.

⁵³Chase, *Defence against G. M. West* (1831), p. 27.

and stone. It was only some years after Chase's departure that the construction could be continued. The result is the shortened wings, beautified by the two bull's eyes, which have been the most popular feature of the building ever since among Kenyon students.

The history of the wings is not so clear as that of Middle Kenyon, the body of the building. It is certain that the East Wing was completed in the fall of 1834. The West Wing was ready "to receive the roof" at that time,⁵⁴ but the report of its being "recently completed" dates only from October, 1836.⁵⁵ The source for these data, the *Gambier Observer*, a Church weekly published by the faculty of Kenyon in the 1830's, is silent about the person of the architect who finished Chase's work. No credit was ever publicly given, and research in the files of the college has brought no evidence as yet. We have to take Smythe's word for it that the gentleman-architect who created the wings was Professor Marcus Tullius Cicero Wing, one of the most capable and, at that time, most influential members of the faculty.⁵⁶ This man, with a name so weighty with the classical tradition of the liberal arts college, was a more important figure in the history of Kenyon than is usually realized. It seems that in the first period of Bishop Chase's successor, Bishop McIlvaine, he was the leading spirit not only in the college but also in the town. He was a professor in the college, and later on in Bexley Hall; treasurer of the college; and secretary of the board of trustees. He was also one of the editors of the *Gambier Observer*, and this is perhaps the reason for the reticence of the paper concerning the author of the plan for the wings. A study of the files of the college gives the impression that Wing was the type of strong worker who loves to do things, but does not care to be given public recognition.

Completed, as it would seem, under Wing's direction, Old Kenyon in its present form looks less impressive and "gothic" than on the original plan, but it better served practical purposes than the romantic initial project could ever have done.

Of the "Bulfinch Legend" this much remains: That Old Kenyon, though in all essentials the work of amateur or gentlemen-architects like many other outstanding creations of that period, has the distinction of being connected with the great American tradition by the touch of the hand of one of its masters.

⁵⁴*The Gambier Observer*, Nov. 7, 1834 (Vol. V, p. 38).

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1836 (Vol. VI, p. 199).

⁵⁶Smythe, *op. cit.*, p. 311, says that the architect who built the wings is unknown. In his annotated copy of the book (in K. C. L.), however, he added this statement: "The 'architect' was M. T. C. Wing, but perhaps he did not design the bull's eyes." Unfortunately, he did not indicate his source for this information.

APPENDIX I

BISHOP CHASE TO LORD KENYON

[*Original in the Kenyon College Library, Chase Letter Book*]

Phil: 19. Dec. 1826

My very dear Lord Kenyon:

Our subscription succeeds better than was feared. *The cause* is gaining every day. Its Enemies retire and its Friends advance to its support. I shall tarry in this City about 9 or 12 days longer; when I shall go on to N. York. Prudence and Firmness, I trust, will be given me.

I take the liberty of sending in a very unfinished state for your Lordships inspection a Print of our College: at the bottom the following will be engraved:

This view of

Kenyon College Ohio

is most affectionately inscribed to the Benefactors thereof both in England and America by their most faithful^a and grateful Friend

PHILANDER CHASE

14th Decr. A. D. 1826

Engraved by P. E. HAMM

Drawn^b by the Rev. N. Nash.

I trust that a survey of the land and a Plat of the Town, and of the squares etc. will soon be sent me from Ohio; when they come they shall be sent forthwith. . . . In great haste tho' always

most faithfully, I am your
Lord's most grateful
and affectionate Friend

PHIL. CHASE.

My birthday AE(tatis) 51.

Address on back:

The Right Hon.
Lord Kenyon
16 Portman Square
London

^aCorrected for "affectionate."

^bOriginally: "Designed," but this word has been blotted out and is half covered by "Drawn," but still more visible than the writer intended.

APPENDIX II

BISHOP CHASE TO LORD GAMBIER

June 11, 1829

[Part of the draft in Chase's own hand, three sheets, in Kenyon's College Library, Chase Papers 290611. Printed in Chase's *Reminiscences*: first edition (1844), p. 641; second edition, Vol. II (1848), p. 37.]

" . . . The building of the college, 110 feet of it, is now up, covered and finishing. The walls are massive and exceedingly well put together, they are 4 feet thick at bottom, receding 6 inches at every story. As you ascend 4 stories, the weight of the stone forming the Cornice course is from 10 to 20 hundred. The Roof, on account of the elevated site of the College and its consequent exposure to the violent winds of our country, has^a more timber in it and is^b put together with more appropriate firmness any^c thing^c of the kind in America. The steeple is in good proportion, high and beautiful. The draft of^d it^d was made for me by our national architect Mr. Bulfinch of the^d City^d of^d Washington.^e The^f height of the vane from the ground I do not now exactly remember, but it is rising of 100 feet, I think 110, and has the most happy effect when seen at a distance towering over lofty woods. The associations which it creates both in relation to the past and in anticipation of the future are such as call forth in every Christian breast feelings of the deepest interest and the most fervent gratitude. As you approach it, the thoughts of the past and the future form themselves on your mind . . . "

^a"Is" in the ms.

^bMissing in the ms.

^c"Most things" in the prints.

^dMissing in the prints.

^e"D. C." added in the first print; "D. C. (See plate)" added in the second print.

^fThis whole passage is omitted in the prints.

A PLEA FOR FURTHER MISSIONARY ACTIVITY
IN COLONIAL AMERICA—DR. THOMAS
BRAY'S MISSIONALIA

By Samuel Clyde McCulloch*

Last year the Church Historical Society in Philadelphia made a very valuable purchase in the field of Americana when they bought Dr. Thomas Bray's *Missionalia: or, A Collection of Missionary Pieces Relating to the Conversion of the Heathen; both the African Negroes and American Indians. In Two Parts*, published in 1727 by W. Roberts of London.¹ Besides being the last and matured observations on missionary enterprise of a man with a lifelong interest in the colonies, this book also is a well-conceived counter proposal to Bishop Berkeley's (then Dean Berkeley) plan to found a college in the Bermudas for training missionaries and ministers who were to work in the American colonies. These two plans, one by a brilliant and idealistic philosopher, the other by a less brilliant but more practical humanitarian, both churchmen, were ably analyzed forty-three years ago in an article by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner.² However, they continue to merit a detailed discussion.

Although Bray was one of the most far-sighted, energetic and colonially-minded clergymen of the eighteenth century, he has been almost entirely neglected by scholars. Throughout his life he strove to better education through charity schools, to reform prisons, to found libraries, and to propagate the gospel among white and colored alike in the colonies. Born at Marton, Shropshire, in 1656,³ Bray was educated at Oswestry School and Oxford, where he graduated from All Souls College in 1678. Having entered holy orders, he served as country curate, chaplain, and vicar until 1690, when he became rector of Sheldon,

*Dr. McCulloch is visiting assistant professor of history at the University of Michigan.—*Editor's Note.*

¹Hereafter cited as *Missionalia*.

²"Two Eighteenth Century Missionary Plans," *Sewanee Review*, XI (July, 1903), pp. 289-305.

³This is the customary year ascribed to Bray's birth. However, Mr. John Wolfe Lydekker, in his recent article, "Thomas Bray (1658-1730): Founder of Missionary Enterprise," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XII (September, 1943), pp. 187-214, writes that he checked the baptismal registers of Chirbury, through the courtesy of the present incumbent, the Rev. S. W. Rodin, for Bray's date of baptism. The date was found to be May 2, 1658, and Mr. Lydekker feels that the baptismal entry of 1658 is the year of Bray's birth.

Warwickshire. Here he wrote his famous *Catechetical Lectures*. Their publication brought his name before Henry Compton, bishop of London, who in 1696 (the same year Bray received his D. D. from Magdalen College, Oxford)⁴ made him ecclesiastical commissary of Maryland. This appointment, like all his preferments, was well deserved.

Some pending ecclesiastical legislation for Maryland kept Bray in England until 1699. Meanwhile he gave his attention to two important problems—the selection of well-qualified missionaries, and the means of supplying them with libraries. To finance his plans he asked parliamentary aid, but, receiving none, realized that the solution lay in founding a voluntary association, incorporated by charter. Thus in 1699 he formed the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, whose aim was to send missionaries and libraries to the colonies, and to provide charity schools in England for educating the poor. Fortunately Bray was a competent literary craftsman, and penned many clear and forceful expositions, not only of this plan, but also of the many others he promulgated throughout his lifetime. The *Missionalia* was the last of this series of missionary tracts.

Reaching Maryland early in 1700, he proved to be a brilliant organizer and leader. Because of his work, an act establishing the Anglican Church in Maryland was passed, a local missionary plan undertaken, and the clergy's maintenance assured. He returned to England the same year in order to secure the approval of the Maryland act (of establishment). The weak position of the Anglican Church in America incited him to found the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701. Solidly backed by churchmen, it took over the foreign work of the S. P. C. K.

Having decided to remain in England, Bray resigned his position as commissary, and, in 1706, he became rector of St. Botolph without Aldgate, London, where he continued his philanthropic labors. In 1724 he founded the Dr. Bray Associates for establishing clerical libraries and educating Negroes and Indians. He also encouraged prison reform, and worked with Oglethorpe for the foundation of a debtors' colony. He died in 1730, aged seventy-three. His *Missionalia*, written three years earlier was, therefore, the product of a mellow and experienced mind.

One of Bray's reasons for writing the *Missionalia* was to vindicate the colonial clergy. In 1725 Berkeley wrote a pamphlet entitled, *Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in Our Foreign Plantations and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity by a College to Be Erected in the Summer Islands, Otherwise called the Isle of*

⁴Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), I, p. 173.

Bermuda.⁵ The dean purposely eschewed the continental colonies because he considered them in a low moral condition. Such a slight touched Bray to the quick. Two years later he made his rebuttal by publishing a counter-proposal to Berkeley's plan. A detailed presentation of Berkeley's activities, however, should precede a discussion of Bray's *Missionalia*.

BERKELEY'S PLAN FOR A COLONIAL COLLEGE

George Berkeley, about to become dean of Derry, had written in 1723 to his good friend, Sir John Percival (afterwards earl of Egmont), that since the previous year, "I have determined with myself to spend the residue of my days in the Island of Bermuda, where I trust in Providence I may be the mean instrument of doing good to mankind." And the remainder of the letter outlines a plan to build a college where "the English youth of our plantations may be educated in such a sort as to supply the churches with pastors of good morals and good learning, a thing (God knows!!) much wanted."⁶ The reason for his desire to cut adrift from the Old World is not hard to find. In 1721, being profoundly affected by the dislocation and misery that followed the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, he wrote *An Essay Towards Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, which excoriated the corrupt civilization of England, and suggested many idealistic reforms.⁷ But his hopes of reform soon died, and, disgusted with the shameless moral laxity in England, he resolved to build a new and better civilization across the seas.

Brilliant, sociable, friend of the great and near-great, and in 1723 the unexpected beneficiary of a legacy from Swift's "Vanessa,"⁸ Berkeley had unusually propitious chances for success in his overseas venture. He quickly interested three young and promising tutors,⁹ and in his struggle to obtain government subsidy he even persuaded the cynical Swift to write him a letter of recommendation to Lord Cartaret. "I discouraged him," wrote Swift, "by the coldness of Courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And, therefore, I humbly entreat your Excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in the kingdom for learning and virtue quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to

⁵Alexander Campbell Fraser, *The Works of George Berkeley, D. D.* (Oxford, 1871), III, pp. 215-231.

⁶Berkeley to Percival, London, March 4, 1722/3, in Benjamin Rand, *Berkeley and Percival* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914), pp. 203-206.

⁷Fraser, *Works of Berkeley*, III, pp. 195-211.

⁸Alexander Campbell Fraser, *The Life and Letters of George Berkeley, D. D.* (Oxford, 1871), IV, pp. 96-100.

⁹Daniel Dering to Percival, London, March 5, 1722/3, in Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, pp. 206-207.

compass his romantic design; which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage."¹⁰ Armed with Swift's letter, Berkeley crossed over from Ireland in September and traveled to London to gather funds and obtain a charter from the king.

His first important step was the publication in the following year of a pamphlet outlining his proposal for a college in Bermuda. It was this pamphlet that Bray attacked in his *Missionalia*. The main purpose of Berkeley's new institution was to train ministers for the "very ill supplied" colonial churches, and to be a "Nursery of learning for the education of the natives."¹¹ The second aim was to further the plan of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to aid the Indians and Negroes. Berkeley wanted to give a good European education to young Indians and Negroes. "It is proposed," he wrote, "to admit into the aforesaid College only such savages as are under ten years of age, before evil habits have taken a deep root; and yet not so early as to prevent retaining their mother-tongue, which should be preserved by intercourse among themselves."¹² Berkeley chose the Bermudas as the site for his college by the method of elimination. The low moral conditions prevailing in the colonies precluded establishment there. Codrington College, founded by the S. P. G. in the Barbadoes, provided a bad environment because of the "dissolute morals" and the "wealth and luxury" of the rich planters. The Bermudas seemed the logical site. They were centrally located in relation to the other colonies, with the natural advantages of good climate and security from attack, and they had the moral prerequisite of virtuous inhabitants—a state of beatitude existing mainly because the island was not over-commercialized. A college founded in such a locale could not but improve the natives and the colonists, and generally contribute to a new and enlightened colonial policy. As one of his friends and promoters wrote in the following year: "Westward the course of Empire takes its way, . . ."¹³

By June 12, 1725, Berkeley received a charter from George I for St. Paul's College in Bermuda,¹⁴ and by the end of the year the combination of his vast popularity in society and his affable and dynamic persuasiveness was responsible for raising a private subscription fund of £3,400.¹⁵ In February, 1726, he wrote to Percival that the fund

¹⁰Swift to Lord Cartaret, Dublin, September 3, 1724, in Fraser, *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, IV, pp. 102-103.

¹¹Fraser, *Works of Berkeley*, III, p. 217.

¹²*Ibid.*, III, p. 217.

¹³Berkeley to Percival, London, February 10, 1725/6, in Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 231.

¹⁴Berkeley to Prior, London, June 12, 1725, in Fraser, *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, IV, pp. 111-112.

¹⁵Berkeley to Percival, London, December 28, 1725, in Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 227.

amounted to about £4,000, and that Lord Palmerston (Henry Temple), the custodian of the D'Allone legacy for the instruction of Negroes, was willing to present it to the new college. But the trustees for "directing the disposal" of the legacy were the Dr. Bray Associates, which included Bray, Lord Percival and three others,¹⁶ and evidently no such favorable decision was reached, because the sum was later given to General Oglethorpe to aid his foundation of Georgia.¹⁷ Berkeley was dissatisfied with subscriptions alone, and appealed to parliament for a grant of £20,000. The king assented, and directed the prime minister, Robert Walpole, to propose such a grant. Although Walpole did not favor the move, he agreed to be "neutral," and was surprised when the bill passed the House of Commons in May, 1726, with only two dissenting voices. The week before the vote was taken either Berkeley or a close friend had managed to canvass every single member of the House, and in a letter written immediately afterwards, Berkeley said:

"After six weeks' struggle against an earnest opposition from the different interests and motives, I have yesterday carried my point just as I desired in the House of Commons, by an extraordinary majority, none having the confidence to speak against it, and not above two giving their negative; which was done in so low a voice as if they themselves were ashamed of it."¹⁸

Nothing more, however, was to come of the bill, mainly because of Walpole's opposition.

Meanwhile, Berkeley, still living in hopes that government aid would mature, stayed on in London two more years; then decided to sail for the Bermudas, stopping first at Rhode Island, where he hoped to purchase with his own private funds a farm which would supply his college with fresh meat. In September, 1728, he and a tiny group of per-

¹⁶Same to same, London, February 10, 1725/6, in *ibid.*, p. 230. In 1699, when Bray was in Holland seeking King William's aid for his library schemes, he conversed at great length with M. Abel Tassin D'Allone, the king's secretary, on the subject of the Negro's needs. Even then Bray had ideas of planning a society which would aid Negroes and Indians. Some years later D'Allone gave Bray £900, to be devoted to the instruction of Negroes, and on his death in 1721 D'Allone bequeathed one-tenth of his English estate together with the arrears of the pension due him from the crown at the time of his death, "as a fund to be used by Bray and his Associates for erecting a school or schools for the children of parents of negro slaves in the Christian religion, and the parents if they so wished (S. P. G. Letter Book MSS. (L. C. Photo), A 19, p. 18)."

¹⁷See the author's article, "Dr. Thomas Bray's Final Years at Aldgate, 1706-1730," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XIV (December, 1945), pp. 322-336.

¹⁸Berkeley to Prior, London, May 12, 1726, in Fraser, *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, IV, p. 125.

sonal friends set out for the New World.¹⁹ The boat touched Virginia, where Berkeley was shown many "unexpected honors" from the governor and other important officials,²⁰ and then proceeded up the coast to Newport, Rhode Island. While in Virginia he had met William Byrd, who a few months later wrote a criticism of Berkeley's plan that outdoes Bray's *Missionalia* in sharp condemnation. Writing to Percival, Byrd noted that "the Dean's project was . . . a very romantic one," and continued that "the Dean is as much a Don Quixote in zeal, as that renowned knight was in chivalry. Is it not a wild undertaking to build a college in a country where there is no bread, nor anything fit for the sustenance of man, but onions and cabbage?" He also points out that the air is only pure because of successions of storms and hurricanes, and that "it will need the gift of miracles to persuade them [the Indians] to leave their country and venture themselves upon the great ocean, on the temptation of being converted."²¹

At Newport, Rhode Island, Berkeley lived in quiet retreat for three years. During that time he revised his opinion about the low morals of the colonies and the poor quality of the colleges, for he even considered establishing his institution in Rhode Island. Writing to Percival in 1729 he said:

"The truth is, I am not in my own power, not being at liberty to act without the concurrence as well of the Ministry as of my associates. I cannot therefore place the College where I please; and though on some accounts I did and do still think it would more probably be attended with success if placed here than in Bermuda, yet if the Government and the gentlemen engaged with me should persist in the old scheme, I am ready to go thither,"²²

But the next year he wrote to his friend, Prior, that he would like to push on as soon as possible;²³ and three months later said that he had no intention of remaining in Newport, but would sail for Bermuda as soon as he received the government grant.²⁴ But the grant never arrived, mainly because the opposition felt that the scheme would foster colonial independence.²⁵ Walpole saw to its demise, and Berkeley re-

¹⁹For an account of Berkeley's stay in America see Benjamin Rand, *Berkeley's American Sojourn* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932).

²⁰Berkeley to Percival, Newport, Rhode Island, February 7, 1728/9, in Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 238.

²¹Byrd to Percival, Virginia, June 1729, in *ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

²²Berkeley to Percival, Newport, Rhode Island, June 27, 1729, in *ibid.*, p. 250.

²³Berkeley to Prior, Newport, Rhode Island, March 9, 1730, in Fraser, *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, IV, p. 172.

²⁴Same to same, Newport, Rhode Island, May 7, 1730, in *ibid.*, IV, p. 183.

²⁵Percival to Berkeley, Bath, December 23, 1730, in Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 269.

luctantly gave up all hope of his plans, and returned quietly to England in 1731. "With such a man as Walpole at the helm," writes Professor John Wild, Berkeley's recent biographer, "there was no danger of any colourful thread of idealism creeping into the intricate commercial web of Anglo-American relations. The American policy was thus kept strictly 'practical,' and the shrewd and business-like mind of the great minister took proper steps that no misguided idealism should in any way foster colonial independence and thus jeopardize the American trade."²⁶ Thus came to an end a plan Bray had criticized from the very outset, but it would seem that Berkeley was defeated primarily for political reasons.

BRAY'S *MISSIONALIA*

Bray's *Missionalia* is not solely concerned with formulating a counter plan to Berkeley's college. It contains advice to colonial clergymen, suggestions for their libraries, and even includes biographies of important churchmen, whose experiences would provide inspiration for neophytes. The *Missionalia* is a collection of missionary pieces and a missionary exhortation. The edition owned by the Church Historical Society is divided into two parts: the first concerns a letter and a memorial to the clergy of Maryland which mainly outlines a reply to Berkeley's plans, and the second part is an annotated bibliography of works essential to missionaries.

The first section of part one is entitled, "A Letter to the Reverend Commissaries and Clergy of *Maryland*, exhorting them to, and pointing out the Method of carrying on such Conversions." Bray congratulates them upon their successful library work, and is gratified that there are almost no losses or embezzlements; but the good work must be kept up. Because of the good accounts he has heard, he promises to send books to Maryland bought by the D'Allone trust. These books, however, were for the use of the Negro population.

Horn books, spelling books, and catechisms will be sent so that the people can help instruct the Negroes, and also try to convert the Indians. But as he feels that there is more chance in winning the Negroes, since they do not "roam about in a Wild and Savage Way of Living,"²⁷ than the Indians, Bray is preoccupied with the pedagogical problems of teaching the colored folk. He also suggests ways for improving the religious spirit of the Maryland white population. "Methinks the Planters," he writes, "who are tinctur'd with some sense of Religion"

²⁶John Wild, *George Berkeley* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 302.

²⁷Bray, *Missionalia*, p. 13.

might be persuaded to start family prayers,²⁸ and promises to send the Maryland clergy copies of the *Life of Mr. Bernard Gilpin* (after having it reprinted) as an example of how to spread Christianity.²⁹

The second section of part one of the *Missionalia* is by far the largest and most important, and is entitled, "A Memorial to the said Clergy, desiring them, on their Part, to inform the Trustees of Mr. D'Allone's Bequest to those Purposes, of the most probable Methods in their Power of Undertaking that good Work with Success; more especially as it respects the *American Indians*." Bray insists that although the main aim of the Trust is to instruct and convert the Negroes, the Indians must not be neglected. He, therefore, plans to send a copy of instructions originally written with the South African natives in mind, a "Heathen Nation, on the South of Africa," which he feels should apply to the American Indians. The clergy of Maryland are asked to study the plan, and, if they do not favor it, to submit their own. In other words, Bray is merely canvassing their opinions, not forcing his ideas upon them.

Missionary work had been attempted, according to Bray, in Delagoa Bay, near the west end of Madagascar, in an area operated by the Africa Company. The work was a failure, chiefly because of the following omissions: (1) equal division of the land among the families to forestall squabbling; (2) erection of houses and cultivation of the land; (3) attempts to persuade the men to cultivate the land, and the women to do the domestic growing and sewing; (4) efforts to convince them that shelter, clothes and settlement were better than the old life, and that "to make themselves a more Happy People than hitherto they have been, the Good God has sent the English among them"³⁰ (imperialism and missionary work were not incompatible in Bray's eyes); (5) the necessity of understanding the difficulties inherent in spreading Christianity among wandering peoples; and (6) the necessity of organizing a well conceived plan for teaching and converting. Bray then elaborates upon his program of teaching, catechizing and preaching.

Another contributing error in the failure of the Delagoa undertaking was that the need of a good school for educating the natives was overlooked. The Jesuits are never guilty of this oversight, being fully aware that religious instruction is not enough. At Delagoa, continues Bray, only two princes were given an education, and then a very special education—which was all wrong. They were taken to England, called "Highness," and given "a Gentleman and Scholar-like Education in the City," instead of being apprenticed in the country to some

²⁸Bray's *Missionalia*, p. 7.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 23.

carpenter, or farmer, and catechized by the parish minister. Is it surprising the two were miserable? One killed himself just before he was supposed to leave England, and the other "went native" as soon as he landed on the African shore. Consequently, the latter and "new" approach should be made in working with the American Indian, as the African and American natives are on the same cultural level and need to be civilized as well as Christianized.

Bray now outlines his plan for educating the American Indian, which is also his counter proposal to Berkeley's college in Bermuda. The controlling philosophy was to civilize and Christianize them at the same time. He proposed that "two or three Artificers of sober Conversation, together with their Wives, and both of some Competent Knowledge in Religion, shou'd be sent to live and abide among them."³¹ The artificers were to be "Carpenters," "Tillers of Land" and "Taylors." The wives were to teach, for example, in the schoolhouse built by the carpenter. Bray also suggested that these newly civilized Indians be brought under the protection of the British Government, thus becoming buffers against the Indians and French. In this way the Church would help extend the boundaries of the colonies. "Good God! How Glorious wou'd this be to the *British* Nation in General," wrote Bray, "and what Security to its foreign Plantations in particular, lying as now they do, too much expos'd to the Inroads and Ravages of the *Indians*, and their Instigators the French!"³² Nor does he propose to lay the burden of the scheme upon the regular American clergy. Realizing that they would not have sufficient time in between their pastoral duties to devote to the Indians, and believing progress could be made only by living among them, (in addition to being convinced of the futility of using the routine missionary approach), Bray felt his plan provided the only solution to the problem.

Bray's analysis of Berkeley's project and his accompanying lucid and practical criticism follow with an appeal to the clergy of Maryland to compare the two plans for themselves, and to propose a third one if they wish. In his criticism Bray made these points: (1) Bermuda was no longer healthy, and had "now become Barren, the Soil being so wash'd away by Hurricanes, that for want of Provision it is said they are Removing off the Island, some to the *Bahamas*, some to *Carolina*."³³ (2) Bermuda was well populated, and filled with "the roughest and rudest Sort of People, Sailors, . . .," thus "least fitted for Retirement, Contemplation or Study."³⁴ (3) The distance from the American colonies was too great. (4) Berkeley was mistakenly critical of the

³¹Bray's *Missionalia*, p. 60.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 63.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 69.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 69.

American clergy's attempts to convert the Indians, and Bray bolsters his criticism by citing the successful work of the College of William and Mary, and of Robert Boyle. Bray also doubted whether it was feasible to hope that Indians would travel hundreds of miles overseas when it was difficult to persuade them to come forty or fifty miles to William and Mary. Sometimes the college was even empty. Bray, becoming more and more bridled, accused Berkeley of not understanding the American Indian, and of having no right to libel the American clergy. (5) Worse, Berkeley had suggested capturing Indians, if none came voluntarily—surely an “un-Christian” or rather “anti-Christian” tactic. In Bray's eyes it was tantamount to slavery, and might provoke an “Eternal War” since they were “the most vindictive of all people.” (6) Berkeley would make the Indian dissatisfied with his own lot, so that he would not want to return home. (7) If the Indian did return, he might be killed by his own people for “voluntarily forsaking them,” and Bray gave an example of some Indians who went one thousand miles to track down and murder two “humaniz'd Indians.”³⁵ (8) When the Indian returned, he might go back to his old ways “like a Dog to his Vomit,” and Bray referred to a Dutch failure, and the Delagoa fiasco already mentioned. And, finally, (9) Bray felt that his plan was much less expensive, and cited statistics to prove his point. The initial cost of Berkeley's plan amounted to £7,500 to Bray's £800; and the annual running costs were £1,000 to a mere £200.³⁶ Bray does admit, however, that Berkeley's system might be successful among the Negroes, because they are more civilized.

Changing from argumentation to persuasion, Bray indirectly compared the two plans by speculating what probability of success his own might have. He felt that it promoted civil life; for instance, the Indians would learn English because of the constant intercourse during building, planting and other activities. Governors would wish to assist, promote and protect the missions because the areas near their respective colonies would be civilized and Christianized. Not only would new territory be added to the empire, but also buffers would be provided against the savage Indians. Thus governors not interested in the propagation of the faith—and there were a great many—would sponsor the plan. Finally, the men supporting Berkeley's project could be used to great advantage in the Bray plan. Berkeley, himself, could do the interviewing and selecting of artificers and others for the Bray plan; in fact, he could become the leader of the whole organization if he wished. Bray never doubted the dean's capabilities, just the practicallity of his missionary system for the New World.

³⁵Bray's *Missionalia*, p. 76.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 81-89.

In conclusion, Bray again urges the clergy of Maryland to act as arbiters. Living near the Indians and familiar with local conditions, they are the best judges of the two plans. And he gently prods them by reciting the criticisms which Berkeley had levelled at them. But this is not all. In a five page "Appendix,"³⁷ Bray apologizes for his insignificance. But the weak often confound the mighty, and he hopes his scheme is better than Berkeley's. He incongruously closes by lashing out at the Roman Catholic missionaries, although he admires some of their methods, notably the work of Thomas à Jesu, a Carmelite monk.

Such was Bray's reply to Berkeley. No further analysis is necessary to prove the difference between Bray's practical, seasoned approach and Berkeley's impractical theory and lack of experience with New World conditions. The modernity of Bray's plan is notable, and his arguments against the Dean are strong and well-placed. Berkeley's project vanished into empty air; but the methods used today among the Indians are surprisingly similar to those advocated by Bray. The worthy doctor was indeed a far-sighted reformer.

The third section of the first part of the *Missionalia* is entitled "The Exemplary Life of Mr. Bernard Gilpin, Eminent for his Piety and Zeal, to enlighten, by a Christian Instruction, the Parts which are most Ignorant." George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, wrote this life. Gilpin (1517-1583) worked among the neglected classes in the north of England. Unfortunately this work does not appear in the *Missionalia* edition possessed by the Church Historical Society. The book was issued in parts during the years 1727 and 1728, and is apparently incomplete. There are also several cases of irregular pagination. The edition owned by the Newberry Library³⁸ in Chicago was published in 1728, and includes Gilpin's life, together with six other small additional sections which make up part one. Most of these additional sections are not listed in the table of contents, and must have been last minute inspirations of Dr. Bray. Many are not even paginated. These sections include:

(1) "An act for the better preservation of Parochial Libraries in that part of Great Britain called England." This is the act of 1709 which Bray had worked so hard to promote.³⁹

(2) "Rules for the better preservation of Parochial Libraries."

³⁷Bray's *Missionalia*, pp. 107-112.

³⁸*The Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1810-1822), IX, p. 83.

³⁹The table of contents of the edition owned by the Church Historical Society is exactly similar to that of the Newberry Library; but the latter has the date of publication as 1727-28. The Maryland Historical Society Library in Baltimore owns an edition similar to that in the Newberry Library. So far as this writer has been able to ascertain, these three copies are the only three in America.

These simply repeat many of those already given in Bray's earlier writings, together with the rules laid out in the 1709 Act. The section concludes with a subscription form to be used by all who wished to contribute to the raising of parochial libraries.

(3) "To the Honourable and Worthy Gentlemen, the Trustees of Mr. D'Allone's bequest for the converting the Negroes." Bray opens by stressing the need for good works, and is glad that the D'Allone trust is for America, because the difficulties of converting Negroes in Africa are very great. The failure of the Delagoa mission is ever present in his mind. Bray then speaks of D'Allone's wish, both verbal and written, that he, Bray, should draw up a plan for the conversion of Negroes and Indians. Why not have a probation period for missionaries, Bray asks? They could first serve for a time among the poor prisoners in London; then among the Negro slaves in America. And here Bray suggests that certain catechetical tracts be used, and stresses the urgent need of books. Next comes a sharp criticism of Berkeley for defaming the American clergy and dispersing "his libel throughout the Kingdom." Bray admits some need of "persons of merit" to go out as missionaries, and plans to publish a sample catalogue of the parochial libraries to attract such men. These libraries are to be "efficient," and not "rendered useless by having an Idle and Illiterate Drone put in Possession of such a Treasure." Bray concludes by admitting that there are better parochial libraries in Maryland than in some parts of England, and urges a "sister design" for development in poor English cures.

(4) "De Enunciando Evangelio." This consists of several chapters in Latin from *De Conversione Omnium Gentium Procuranda* by Thomas à Jesus. Bray's purpose in reprinting these was to indicate the necessity of studying heathenism before trying to convert heathens. The Carmelite had described modern heathenism, and proposed an admirable system of conversion, far better, thought Bray, than anything the Anglicans had to offer, though he hastened to add that the Anglicans had the superior religion.

(5) "The Lives of several Excellent persons, worthy the perusal of a Divine." This four-page bibliography, including twenty-two titles, of biographies of famous churchmen, lists such celebrated books as Dr. Cave's *Lives of the Apostles*, Strype's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Bishop Fell's *Life of Dr. Hammond*, and Nelson's *Life of Bishop Bull*.

(6) "A Consolatory letter of that Reverend and Pious man, Mr. Rowlett,⁴⁰ the author of the Christian Monitor, to his Mother, upon his apprehension of dying by the plague." The letter is preceded by a thirty-six page preface, praising Lord Digby, Bray's former patron, John

⁴⁰John Rawlet (1642-1686) was a friend of Bray.

Ketterwell, his friend, and Rawlet. Bray traced the inspiration for his library plans to Rawlet who left his private library to his home town and laid down certain rules for its preservation. The preface wanders considerably, indicating that Bray's seventy-one years had taken their toll. The main points he makes are the need of libraries, and the fact that Rawlet's remarks may apply to all people in grief. Bray next adds a thirty-two page dedication to the Reverend Mr. Richard King, vicar of Topsham in Devonshire, before finally returning to Rawlet.

Part two of the *Missionalia* is entitled, "A Catechetical Library, or Sett of Books, of more Immediate Use, in order to the Instruction of Novitiates in the Principles and whole System of Christianity, both Doctrinal and Moral." In a long introduction Bray explains to the clergy of Maryland why books should be sent for the work of conversion, what books should be used, and the necessity of giving an account of books previously received. The reading public in England is also considered, for he stresses the need of libraries in the poorer cures in England, and discusses general necessities and organization of such collections of books.

The bibliography of the catechetical library is called *Primordia Bibliothecaria Missionalia*,⁴¹ and Bray describes it as "The Scheme of a Diminutive or a Catechetical Library in Embrio, Proportion'd to the Exigencies of such as shall be Appointed to Preach the Gospel in our Colonies Abroad, or in the many Poor and Unprovided Cures at Home." Like Bray's two editions of *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, this work is a carefully organized, annotated list of books, that a missionary should possess. As in the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, not the least interesting part of the work are the notes that follow the titles.

The table of contents of the *Missionalia* lists two more sections for part two; but these are not printed. There were to have been further specimen libraries. The Newberry Library edition, however, lists a part three for the *Missionalia*, entitled, "Pastoral, on the various functions of the Pastoral Office Necessary to be duely discharged by everyone having Cure of Souls." An unfinished work, it consists of two chapters which list bibliography helpful in pastoral duties. The suggestions are well organized; for example, there are three titles under preaching, three under catechizing, and two under visitation of the sick. It is a pity that Bray did not complete this section; but, like so many of his works, he planned more than he could ever handle.

This volume, although not the best of Bray's works, has much intrinsic value. It is a real missionalia, and while there is not much continuity between the sections, other than the general subject of the

⁴¹Bray, *Missionalia*, pp. 33-72.

problems of missionary work, these sections are valuable for the picture they give of the colonies and of their conception in England. The differences in the appraisals of Bray, who was familiar with the territory, and of Berkeley who had a notion of the New World, is a case in point. The various sections, particularly the bibliographies, are interesting for the insight they give into the contemporary evaluation of men and books.

In the *Missionalia* Bray shows in greater detail than in previous books his familiarity with colonial conditions and his acute insight into the problems of missionary work. His realization that non-Christians vary and that the psychology of the uncivilized and the semi-civilized peoples are not the same, shows a perspicacity not given to his colleagues. Like his Roman Catholic predecessor, Thomas à Jesu, he recommends the study of heathenism before suggesting the converting of heathens. Best known for his talents as an organizer and executive, Bray is not always fully appreciated for his gifts as a student of human nature.

Equally important as this final proof of his unexcelled qualities as a professional missionary and humanitarian, is the unconscious revelation of the refined and Christian qualities of his nature. It is incontestable that Bray is hard on Dean Berkeley's dreams of establishing St. Paul's College in the Bermudas, but that his criticism is purely professional and impersonal, and that he was able to remember and respect the gifts Berkeley had to offer to a missionary undertaking, is shown in his suggestion that the dean administer his (Bray's) own plan. That he puts the people he serves before questionable acquiescence to his betters, is also implicit in his attack on Berkeley's missionary efforts.

Although his final volume, the *Missionalia* is not a summary work, and Bray undoubtedly thought of it as just another in his series of missionary tracts. Of the two editions in this country, the Church Historical Society edition, while the smaller because of its earlier printing, has the greater continuity.

BISHOP WHITE'S UNIVERSITY SERMON

With Introduction by G. MacLaren Brydon

[The following article is an extract from the diary of a young medical student at the University of Pennsylvania, who was so deeply impressed by a sermon preached by Bishop White before the university that he commented upon it at considerable length in his diary. Bishop White was not considered a popular preacher. But for that reason the great impression made by one of his sermons upon a university student is all the more noteworthy.

The author of the diary, Dr. Ethelbert Algernon Coleman, 1812-1892, was a native of Halifax County, Virginia, and lived in that county all of his life. He graduated at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia in 1829, after which he and a fellow-classman went to the University of Pennsylvania to study medicine.

G. MACLAREN BRYDON.]

FEBRUARY 11, 1832. Today I have been to hear Bishop White preach in the University; whom Dr. Horner called "a patriarch indeed, a friend and associate of Washington and Jefferson; a living link that served to connect the last generation with the present." His text was Proverbs 19th chapter, 27th verse: "Cease, my son, to hear the instruction that causeth to err from the words of knowledge."

In a most mild yet masterly manner he exposed the error and sinfulness of those who excused or even encouraged the backslidings of youth under the pretence of its being merely an innocent indulgence of the buoyant spirit natural to that period of life. He then exposed the utter futility of the "so-called law of honour." True honour is a most noble principal, a sister and friend of religion and virtue who affords them much assistance in pointing out the landmarks which are to guide us through the journey of Life, along the path of rectitude. But in the world its loudest and most prominent votaries have entirely diverted it from its original character and have set up an idol in its place, that allows the commission of many crimes totally incompatible with Religion, Virtue and true honour.

He then showed that we could not separate the moral from religious law because the former has no obligation except what is found in the penalties of the latter; and he concluded by saying that natural

Religion was an unreal existence, a boast of man's reason, which faculty can never arrive at just conclusions concerning the Deity and his government without the assistance of revelation. Though revealed religion was constantly receiving light and enforcement from the works of nature and diversified objects of the Universe. . . . I will not make any remarks on these conclusions except to express what is suggested to me concerning the moral law and its obligation. I have been under the opinion that we all have consciences that serve somewhat to guide our actions, independent of all religious feeling, or even knowledge. That this conscience was a kind of *instinct* that prompted us to good and withhold us from evil acts, without affording a consciousness of the power or penalty that enforced its decrees. If this instinctive principle does exist independent of all preaching or instruction, then it might be assumed as at least a partial obligation to enforce the moral law: for the decrees of conscience would be independent of religious knowledge or belief, and its penalty would be the sensible though unaccountable sting of an offended moral feeling. The law of conscience would then remain as a bond even to the most ignorant savage: whom its direct and wilful infraction would justly condemn to a future punishment. The more I see of the world, however, and the more converse I have with its younger members, with whom the natural law should exist in its greatest purity, the more am I inclined to doubt its existence independent of all instruction. This admission, however, conjoined with the Bishop's declaration concerning the futility of natural religion, would certainly seem to exonerate the Heathen from any penalty for their transgressions.

The Bishop is a most venerable looking old man, and was assisted by a clergyman whose hair was still whiter than his own.

BOOK REVIEWS

AN AMERICAN DIOCESE

[From *The Guardian*]

A HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY, 1704-1923. By George E. DeMille. Publication No. 16. Church Historical Society. Philadelphia.

This volume provides a useful addition to our knowledge of the history of the American Church. Mr. DeMille does justice to that rather puzzling character, William Johnson, who, for all his many faults, can certainly be described as a great churchman. "Indeed, if Johnson had had his way, the diocese of Albany would have been born a century sooner than it was, since he strongly pressed the claims of Albany as the see city for the proposed bishopric." A good word also is found for Governor Edmund Andros. Perhaps English Churchmen do not realize how much the Church owed in its colonial days to many of the governors. The author is sensible, too, in his comments on the American Revolution, which was not merely an uprising of oppressed colonists against tyrannical English overlords. "In the area covered by this study . . . it was in some sense a war of Dutch and Palatines against English and Scotch; it was a war of small landowners against the lords of the manor; it was a war of Indian against white; and it was to some extent a war of Anglican against dissenter."

The chapter headed, "Post-war Renaissance," is admirable. What a picture is presented to us of those stirring times!! Samuel Provoost, the first bishop of New York, was not the one to guide a reviving Church, "but he was at least a bishop; he could confirm and ordain." On Wednesday, September 14, 1791, in the parish church, Albany, 147 persons were presented for confirmation. "Grey-haired men and maidens welcomed the opportunity of receiving the seal of the Lord." When the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1783 there were five churches in what is now the diocese of Albany. By 1810 there were twenty-five thriving parishes or mission stations. "The one priest had changed to fourteen. Ten new buildings had been completed, and others were in process of erection. The Church like her Master, had experienced a resurrection."

At the close of 1868 the diocese of Albany was formed, carved out of that of New York. On the Feast of the Purification in the year following, Dr. W. C. Doane was consecrated its first bishop. Twenty-five years later at a great gathering in the newly-erected and partly finished cathedral, the same bishop was able to tell the story of a wonderful period of expansion and of consolidation—an expansion and consolidation which, according to *The Living Church Annual* of 1946, is still going on.

Mr. DeMille tells us, moreover, of the zeal of lay folk who determined to have the services and ministrations of their beloved Church, and of the devotion and heroic labors of noble priests like Samuel Fuller, Russell Wheeler and Daniel Nash. We are grateful to him for his enheartening work, which is well illustrated and pleasing in its format.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

A HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY, 1704-1923. By George E. DeMille, M. A., with Foreword by the Bishop of Albany. The Church Historical Society (Publication No. 16). Philadelphia.

The rector of the Church of the Cross at Ticonderoga has added another to the list of well-arranged and really informative diocesan histories. Apart from the 18th century Mohawk mission, few of the striking incidents which conventionally occupy the main place in American Church history occurred within the limits of the section of New York now comprised in the diocese of Albany. Yet its history has an interest much more than local. It illustrates in a somewhat self-contained area important aspects of our general Church history—the activities of the colonial Church, post-Revolutionary reconstruction, 19th century expansion, tractarian and post-tractarian influences, the readjustment of Church life in our own century. The items peculiar to its history are worthy of general interest—the Mohawk mission, the westward movement of Connecticut churchmen and churchmanship, the missionaries of the early nineteenth century, the commanding figure of Bishop William C. Doane, the gracious personality of his successor. All this and more is now recorded in DeMille's clear account. The best chapters, if one may distinguish, are those on the colonial and post-Revolutionary periods (I and II) and on the election, personality, and cathedral plans of Bishop Doane (IV-VI). The narrative comes down to the accession of the present diocesan, who stresses the deeper significance of the subject in his Foreword.

Fr. DeMille is not so dull a historian as to lack a point of view, in his case a full admiration for the strictly Anglican catholicism which he sees inspiring Church life in the Albany diocese at all periods. This gives him a sound sympathy for most of the leading figures in his story; it perhaps leads him to slur over some others whose activities might have been included—for instance, Henry Codman Potter, who during his ministry at St. John's, Troy, was a professed evangelical. Some will smile at part of the reason given for the success of the tractarian rector of Holy Cross, Troy, in contrast with Edgar P. Wadhams, who went to Rome and was later the first bishop of Ogdensburg.

Tucker, unlike Wadhams, was a moderate man, and a convinced and loyal Anglican (p. 62).

Perhaps the two are necessarily connected.

DeMille's previous work has led us to expect incisive and penetrating character sketches, and he does not disappoint us here, as far as his sometimes crowded chronicle allows. A figure who deserves to

be brought out of the shadows is Thomas Ellison, rector at Albany, 1787-1802, the first priest to work in northern New York after the Revolution, and best known as the instructor of Philander Chase; he seems to have combined the social graces with a capacity for hard work, an admirable combination. The central character is necessarily William Croswell Doane, bishop of Albany for nine years more than our present canons would allow. DeMille is admirably fair in recording the greatness and the limitations of this great man—one may hope that he will yet be the subject of a full biography. The Cathedral of All Saints is a true memorial of his life, full as it was of large plans which (in part because of their very largeness) were never entirely carried out. Surely this is a better heritage than would have been a career of small successes.

Less as comment on this book than as suggestion for others, the *History of the Diocese of Albany* suggests some thoughts as to what an ideal diocesan history should contain. It ought not to be completely absorbed in the chronicle of foundations and the *liber pontificalis*, the list of new parishes and series of episcopal lives, although these are necessarily important elements. It should give some picture of Church life in past periods—especially if there were local features of significance, but by way of illustration even if there were not. It should tie up the internal history of Anglicanism with the general history of the area involved—political, social, demographic, and religious,—and should relate the events of the diocesan history to the general movements of the Church at large. It should be honest about failures, false starts, and the shortcomings of leaders; it should remember that the laity are part of the Church, without whom (as Cardinal Newman observed) it would look pretty funny. DeMille's history rates very high by these standards which I have ventured to propose (although, as with other works of American Church History, one sometimes misses the background after the Revolution). May other dioceses be as fortunate in their historians.

E. R. HARDY, JR.

Berkeley Divinity School.

OUTLINE OF ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE: AN ACCOUNT FOR THE GENERAL READER OF ITS DEVELOPMENT FROM EARLY TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By A. H. Gardiner, A. R. I. B. A. London. B. T. Batsford, Ltd. 12/6 net.

Here is a well illustrated and very helpful book for the understanding of our rich architectural heritage. Mr. Gardiner is interested not only in buildings, but also in their builders, and he gives us a study of beautiful houses and churches in the midst of their English setting. If we feel there are more sanitary details than we need, we are glad that he cares for the every day life of the people, the poor in their discomforts, as well as the rich.

Mr. Gardiner, with his extensive knowledge, helps to remove some old fallacies, as, e. g., that mediaeval buildings were designed and built by humble craftsmen, without any technical training. Definite infor-

mation about architects and builders does not appear much before the fourteenth century, but they were there all the same. In records the terms "master" and "carpenters," etc., are found. When the master mason of any importance had finished his training, he would probably do but little manual work. But we know that William of Sens personally superintended the work on the new choir at Canterbury, for it was while thus engaged in the fixing of "centres" for turning the great vault over the eastern crossing, that the plank of the scaffolding gave way and he fell some fifty feet to the floor. Plans were drawn on boards or on vellum, or as Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, were cut out on the turf.

The "mysteries" of this wonderful craft, the greatest of the arts, included theories of ratio and of mystical perfection. "We know that certain proportions, such as the 5:8 ratio, were favored by the mediaeval designers, and that certain angles, such as 'the golden cut,' seem to have been handed down from the ancient world; while the angle of 51° 50' (the angle of the great pyramid) appears with a frequency suggesting something more than accident." "The church was orientated towards the east, and each cardinal point had its significance. The north (region of cold and darkness) is commonly consecrated to the Old Testament; the south (region of warmth and light) to the New. The western facade, facing the setting sun, is reserved for scenes of the Last Judgment."

Mr. Gardiner, with a freshness and charm, takes us again through the whole story of the rise and fall of English architecture, pointing out once more the might of Durham, the grace of Salisbury, and the charm of Wells, nor do late buildings lack care and attention. It is, however, a sad descent to the twentieth century, which has learned strength and proportion, and the use of new materials, but has lost beauty and charm.

The illustrations, as we should expect in a Batsford book, are quite charming; especially pleasing are those of the porch of St. Mary's, Oxford; the tower and porch of Cirencester; the interior of Kings College, Cambridge; Grevels House, Chipping Campden; Coventry Cathedral (will our moderns erect a monstrosity on the site of this lovely building?); and the west front of Wells. The jacket shows a sketch of great interest, an old lithograph of the rebuilding of the approach to London Bridge.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

BRITISH ARCHITECTS AND CRAFTSMEN. A SURVEY OF TASTE, DESIGN AND STYLE DURING THREE CENTURIES, 1600 TO 1830. By Sacheverell Sitwell. London. B. T. Batsford, Ltd. Second Edition, 1946.

A second edition of this admirable handbook is very welcome. Mr. Sitwell writes with knowledge, distinction and charm. The reader soon catches his enthusiasm which is sustained to the last page. The

chapter on Elizabethan and Jacobean Building is quite delightful. He brings us to a fresh appreciation of Inigo Jones. His account of Sir Christopher Wren, to whom we owe much more than the homely grandeur of St. Paul's, could hardly be improved upon. It is sad to read of the gutting of his City Churches, but it is well that we should be reminded of the destruction of many before the raids began. Of Wren's St. Paul's we read: "Wren has rivalled with Nature in his architecture. More than this could not be said of the greatest architect of the human race." Two charming illustrations are given of Wren's first design for St. Paul's, the rejection of which is said to have brought him to tears. Was it not suggested many years ago that this should have been used for the then new cathedral at Liverpool? It is a pity such an opportunity has not been used.

To Sir John Vanburgh also is given his due place. Great he certainly is, though puzzling to many lovers of his art. "He is one of the three great personalities in our architecture. The others are Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren. In fact, he had more personality than either of them. Vanburgh is one of the extreme cases in all the arts together, destined to be the subject of endless argument and discussion." He is unique, not only in England, for he has no parallel anywhere.

Other chapters follow, brim full of interest, on Hawksmoor, Gibbs, Kent and Adams—truly a goodly company. Concluding with a chapter on the Regency, which despite its extravagance has some good buildings to its credit, Mr. Sitwell tries to look beyond the barren present to a more hopeful future. "The leaves wither, and the long winter comes. We may conclude that it is unlikely it will flower in our lifetime. Our days and nights are not propitious. But where the genius of architecture has once lingered, it may come again. Of that genius, and its fruits, none can doubt who know our buildings from the norman and the gothic down to nearly modern times."

The illustrations are all that can be desired. The photograph of Trinity College Chapel is especially pleasing. The absence of cross and candlesticks from the altar means that it has been taken in vacation time. Newman made his first communion there. He wrote of it: "I loved Trinity Chapel at Oxford more than any other building."

R. D. MIDDLETON.

A TOWER ON THE HEIGHTS. By Ralph Foster Weld. Columbia University Press. 1946.

Under the alluring title of "A Tower on the Heights," Mr. Weld, a social historian, tells the story of the founding and later development of the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York, in 1832. Brooklyn was then literally a village with street-corner pumps and homes lit by tallow candles. There were three churches—the Dutch Church, the Methodist Church, and St. Ann's Episcopal Church. Mr. Weld recites the beginning of the enterprise when four men and six women "covenanted with God and each other, to walk together as Brethren and Sisters in the Lord, according to the Faith and form of Government of the Presbyterian Church in these United States." In many respects

this volume is a model history of a particular church, model because the author links it with the larger life of the city and with the religious life and thought of its more than one hundred years. In brilliant sketches of its succession of distinguished ministers the changing phases of theological thought are brought out, and in particular the struggle in the Presbyterian Church at large between what may be called the "fundamentalists" and the "liberals." By and large the First Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn has been steadfastly "liberal." Far too often written histories of individual churches or parishes are dry reading for the reason that they are not linked to the varying thought and life of their times. The great value of this book avoids that error. Mr. Weld has rendered great service by placing throughout the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn in its civic, social and religious setting.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.
By John Tracy Ellis. Washington: American Catholic Historical Association. 1945. Pp. 415.

The author of this volume is the managing editor of the *Catholic Historical Review* and secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association as well as associate professor of American Church History in the Catholic University of America. In these pages he outlines the development of the idea of the creation of a Catholic University in the United States. The Church was pretty well supplied with smaller colleges and diocesan seminaries, but lacked adequate provision for graduate study. The first suggestion for such provision was made as far back as 1865. It was not until the Plenary Council of 1884 that the movement took concrete form and then mainly by the generosity of a young Catholic laywoman. The letters published in this volume reveal the fact that it "was not always a tranquil process." Some of the bishops were strongly opposed to the movement. In the long run the influence of Leo XIII, who was strongly in favor of it, saved the day. Father Ellis recites, without reserve, the ups and downs, and has given us a valuable contribution to the subject of higher education in America.

E. C. C.

MOTHER OF CARMEL: A PORTRAIT OF ST. TERESA OF JESUS. By E. Allison Peers. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1946. Pp. 220.

The author of this volume has an established reputation as an authority on Spanish religious life and thought. He has translated the *Complete Works of Saint John of the Cross* as well as those of St. Teresa (both in three volumes) and *Studies of the Spanish Mystics* (2 volumes). For the benefit of readers who may not have access to these larger works he has now turned his attention to smaller biographies. In *Spirit of Flame*, published two years ago, he sketched the life of the Carmelite friar, St. John of the Cross. Now comes *Mother of Car-*

mel. It is an intimate and understanding study, St. Teresa of Jesus, better known as the Mother of Carmel, to which he adds a summary of her writings. It is a valuable addition to devotional literature.

E. C. C.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND
IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN CANADA, West Park, New York.
Holy Cross Press. Pp. 132.

It is significant that this book carries a foreword from the Presiding Bishop expressing approval of its purpose "to inform our people of the history and place monastic life has held in our Episcopal Church. In this age of crisis we must do all we can to make the Church realize the catholicity of her nature and work." The publication of this volume will do much to accomplish this end. It is divided into three parts: 1. The religious life; 2. communities of men; communities of women; 3. glossary and index. A brief historical sketch is given of each community; also an outline of its particular line of service and of the daily devotions and conditions of admission.

E. C. C.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, WALDEN, NEW YORK. By Charles Bodine.

An interesting account of a church which received its charter from King George III on July 30, 1770, its first minister being a missionary of the S. P. G. One can but, however, register a vigorous protest against the constant use of the phrase, "Rev." It occurs on almost every page and is a breach of good English and of good literary manners.

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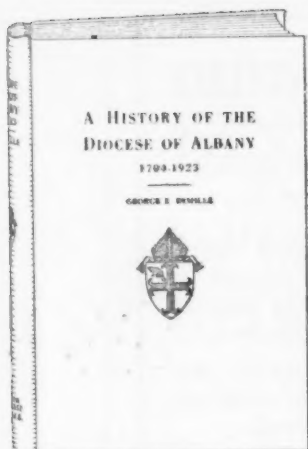
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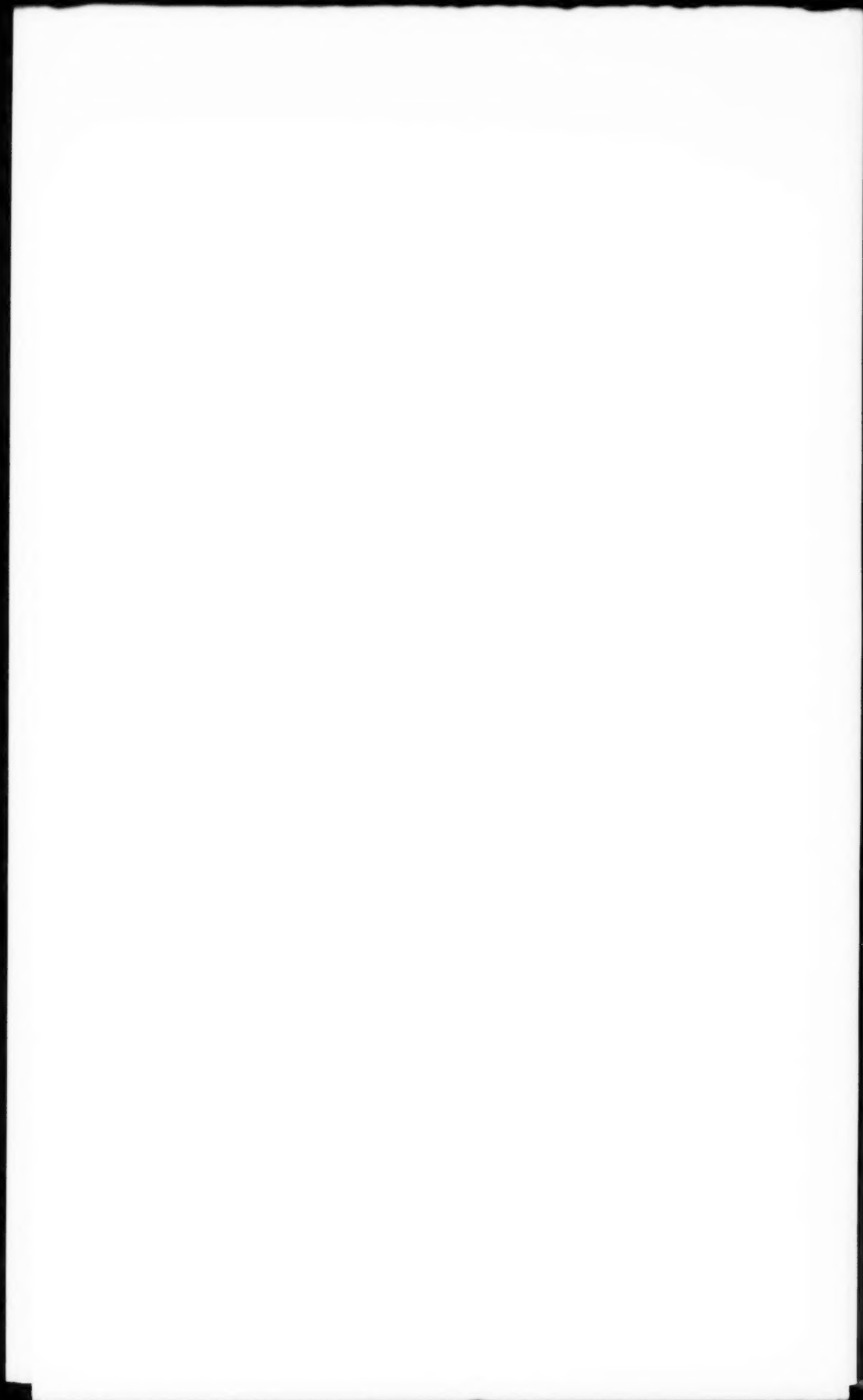
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